THEORETICAL AND DISCUSSION JOURNAL OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

JUNE 1963

Marxism Today

EDITORIAL COMMENTS

ECONOMIC COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY — BRITAIN'S CRISIS 1962-63

KATHARINE THOMSON — MOZART AND FREEMASONRY

JOHN MILLER — SONGS OF THE BRITISH RADICAL AND LABOUR MOVEMENT

DISCUSSION:

DAVID CRAIG — CENTRE 42 AND THE 'MOVEMENT'

JACK LINDSAY — ABSTRACT ART

Monthly 1/6

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Marxism Today

Vol. 7 **No. 6**

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Subscription rates
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Twelve issues 21s.

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Editorial Comments

THE Italian General Election, with its record Communist vote could well mark the beginning of a political turn in Western Europe. The attempts to isolate the Party from the left and democratic movement utterly failed.

The 7,763,854 votes for the Communist Party represented an increase of over a million on the vote in the previous (1958) General Election, a rise from 22.7 to 25.3 per cent of the total vote.

Significant, too, is the fact that the Communist gains were uniform throughout the territory of Italy. Results were very good in the great industrial centres. In Turin and Genoa the Communist Party now has the largest vote; in Milan it nearly equalled the vote of the Christian Democrats. In Rome the Party vote increased by 86,000 compared with 1958 to reach over one quarter of the total.

The Italian people have shown, Togliatti explained in an interview with *Unita* following the election, that "they want a Government orientated towards the Left, but no Government can be of such a kind if it is based on the prejudicial exclusion of the Communist Party".

The big advance in Italy followed on the heels of the French General Election. In France, too, desperate attempts had been made to isolate the Communists; and, as in Italy, these attempts have been defeated. Indeed, significant measures of Communist-Socialist unity were reached in the final round of the Election, and this unity developed still further in the course of the strike of the miners.

As John Gollan declared at the May Day demonstration in Hyde Park:

> "We are at the beginning of a new stage in the political situation in West Europe. The first period after 1945 was one of anti-fascist unity.
>
> It was broken in 1947 with the cold war and the re-grouping of reaction for which the Right-Wing Labour leaders bear a heavy responsibility.
>
> But now we see the resumption of the advance and growth of the Left, the crisis in the cold war and the Common Market.
>
> It is a new historic opportunity. The supreme issue in grasping it, is Communist-Labour unity and, above all, for British Labour to break with the cold war."

Wise and Otherwise

Mr. Macmillan is dreaming up new promises of Conservative prosperity for the seventies, while leaving all the accumulating problems of the sixties completely unsolved. Not so the research body known as Political and Economic Planning (P.E.P.) which has just issued a pamphlet *The Shape of the Sixties* in which there are some things which are wise and much that is otherwise.

Amongst the former are indications of the social consequences of automation and the suggestion that the growth in the importance of technically trained people in industry may have considerable political repercussions.

Amongst the less wise are the usual snide remarks about Marxism and Communism including the assertion that:—

> "It is entirely to the good that able young people are no longer being diverted into Communism as in the thirties by the obvious inability and unwillingness of holders of power to exercise it with forethought and social responsibility".

We believe however that young people are beginning to study Marxism and Communism to a greater extent that at any moment in the post-war period. The apolitical attitude that existed at first amongst them in the post-war period is beginning to pass away; the Young Communist League is growing as is the influence of Communist groups in the universities. The youth are beginning to recognise that they have got no prospects in post-war monopoly capitalism; and are seeking a new way forward.

White Collar Awakening

Technically trained people are beginning to see the necessity for trade unionism and militant struggle.

The Times Review of Industry and Technology for May has discussed "the dilemma in which many professional and other salaried workers find themselves today about collective representation. They have come to recognise that in a world where trade unionism is all pervading, some form of association is necessary to protect their stand-

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ard of living. Even those who eschew the strike weapon—and there are increasingly few associations who are not playing with the idea of establishing a dispute fund if they have not already got one—are agreed that a show of corporate militancy may be needed."

The Times Review sees this activity amongst professional workers as "yet another symptom of the growing belief that in the economic and social climate of the 1960's, a white collar offers no more protection than those of the kind which drew Mab's hazel-nut chariot—'collars of the moonshine's watery beams'." With the beginnings of the class struggle showing amongst hitherto unorganised strata of workers, the prospects are distinctly good.

"*African Socialism*"?

Socialism in Africa is becoming increasingly a subject of debate both in Africa and in Britain. A few months ago a *Marxism Today Forum,* held in London on the subject: *Is there an African Road to Socialism*? and with Basil Davidson, the well-known author, Chango Machyo, the Chairman of the Committee of African Organisations, and Jack Woddis, participating, attracted considerable attention.

In Africa itself the discussion is raging far and wide, particularly around the question: Is there such a thing as "African socialism"?

Are those who put forward this conception correct? Are they confused? Or are they echoing a new slogan of neo-colonialism? These questions are examined fundamentally in a number of issues of the Ghanaian journal *The Spark* (a weekly published by the Bureau of African Affairs, P.O. Box M24, Accra, Ghana) which commenced publication in December 1962.

A recent issue of *The Spark* carries an article on *The Ideological Battle in Africa* by Julius Sago, which argues powerfully against the concept of "African socialism". "The term 'African'," he writes, "is used to cover up the fact that the 'Socialism' advocated is in reality a negation of socialism. It is used to flatter African intellectuals into believing that the new ideology is of their own creation."

Another article in the same issue, written by a Ghanaian University lecturer, is significantly entitled: *African Socialism—a Neo-Colonialist Ruse.*

Kwame Nkrumah himself, in an interview with Professor Potekhin of the Soviet Union, has stated that there is no such thing as "African Socialism", and has since declared that Ghana is taking "the road of scientific socialism." President Modibo Keita of Mali has similarly criticised the idea of "African socialism", saying: "If we do not pay attention, the word 'socialism' will be emptied of meaning, and the most reactionary capitalist and bourgeois systems will be able to camouflage themselves under the sign of socialism."

Perhaps the most succinct comment has been made by Sekou Toure, President of Guinea, in the course of an interview he gave to the new monthly journal, *African Revolution* (Metropole 10-11, Lausanne, Switzerland). When asked: "What do you think of so-called African Socialism?" he laughed and said: "And you, what do you think of Senegalese mathematics or Moroccan chemistry?"

It is of undoubted significance that the leaders of three of the most advanced states in Africa should reject the concept of "African Socialism", which is being pushed mainly by the leaders of African states which are trying to drag their countries along the capitalist road.

We shall return to this important question of Africa and Socialism in an early issue of *Marxism Today* for which Idris Cox is contributing a special article.

Emily Wilding Davison

Fifty years ago—June 4, 1913—was a tragic, heroic, memorable day in the Derby Calendar. On that day Emily Wilding Davison, creeping under the rails at Tattenham Corner, as the horses came thundering past, flung herself at the King's horse *Anner,* sustaining grave injuries from which she died four days later.

This was not some act committed on an impulse. The night before, she had told a few close friends something of what she intended. During the day she had been to the offices of the Women's Political and Social Union (W.S.P.U.), taking two flags of the Union's colours (one of these was found later wrapped round her body and one sewn into her coat), and, when asked why she wanted them, had replied that it would be best for no-one to know.

For years she had held the idea that the cause of *Votes for Women* could never be won without a "blood sacrifice", and more and more had come to feel that the sacrifice must be hers.

Emily Wilding Davison was born in 1872 of Northumbrian stock. It is recorded by her mother, other relatives, and later teachers and friends, that she was a quiet deeply religious person from her earliest years. At the same time she was avid of life, an excellent dancer, skater, bicyclist and swimmer. Her academic distinctions at London and Oxford Universities were notable for her time.

She joined the W.S.P.U. in 1906 but was never a member of its staff. Indeed she did not find it

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easy to accept discipline. But in the literature of the courageous acts of the suffragettes her name is among the first.

Eight times she was imprisoned; forcibly fed 49 times. In 1909, in Strangeways, she barricaded herself in her cell to resist forcible feeding, and the visiting magistrates ordered the hosepipe to be turned on her.

In 1911 she threw herself head foremost on to the iron stairs at Holloway with a view to killing herself and focusing public attention more sharply on the horrors of forcible feeding. Despite severe injury she continued to be forcibly fed.

Three times during 1910-11 she concealed herself in the House of Commons with the aim of confronting Asquith personally, but, on each occasion, was discovered.

When her body was brought from Epsom to London 6,000 people accompanied the coffin through the streets of London, including representation from all the suffrage societies, from the Dockers' Union, the Gas Workers, the Central Labour College, the Daily Herald League, the General Labourers' Union.

As though to underline their contempt for her and their own contemptibility, the Liberal Government arrested Emmeline Pankhurst under the "Cat and Mouse" Act, as she tried to join the procession.

Emily Davison's remains rest today in Morpeth Churchyard but her courage will not be forgotten.

Films and Finance

The film industry seems to revel in its own complicated nature to such an extent that even those, who have spent a lifetime in it, sometimes do not know all the answers. The problems of an independent British film producer can be epitomised by saying that it usually takes him longer to go about raising the finances for his picture than in actually shooting and editing it. For thirteen years he has been assisted financially by the National Film Finance Corporation, which owes its existence to Harold Wilson, who, when at the Board of Trade, took an especial interest in the British film production industry; the NFFC is a films bank that will loan part of the money needed to make the film.

But life for the would-be film maker is full of complications; the NFFC will not loan all the money, it will want to have assurances that a film renter will be prepared to distribute the film to the cinemas, once it is made, and that there is somebody prepared to guarantee the film's completion, in the event of it running into difficulties during production. At the annual conference in March of the Association of Cinematograph, Television and allied Technicians, (ACTT), a member of the Union's General Council, Ralph Bond, recalled that in its thirteen years the National Film Finance Corporation had assisted 606 feature-length films, 137 short films and some TV films.

The speaker, while paying credit to the aid to British films by the NFFC, gave two warnings. The NFFC needed more finance from the Government, as almost all the £3 million available as loan money was out working, and loans for further films would have to wait until others had been repaid; a plea for greater borrowing powers for film production was unanimously supported by the conference. Mr. Bond explained the other danger by referring to another publicly controlled sector of the film industry—British Lion—with which the Film Finance Corporation was linked. Control of British Lion was split half between the NFFC and half private shareholders, and Mr. Bond feared that in a year British Lion could be entirely privately owned "with public money and control virtually eliminated," as the private shareholders could buy out the NFFC—and he, in turn, called for all possible pressure to be exerted to make sure that the NFFC exercised *its* option to buy out the private shareholders in British Lion.

The ACTT, quite understandably, had the interests of its film production members very much at heart—the resolution to which Mr. Bond spoke was put forward by the Union's "Freelance Section", which represented mainly the casually employed film technicians—but the ACTT itself recognised that the health of British film-making was not a narrow issue. Being not only a form of expression, but also a valuable means of promoting British trade, the British film industry is a considerable national asset.

Tories and Right-Wing Labour

With the general election now in sight, the Labour movement faces the task of getting rid of the present Tory Government, and then ensuring that a new Labour Government does not repeat the errors of the last one.

The new books from Lawrence Wishart, *The Tory Years* 1951-62 by Alan Brown, and *The Labour Government* 1945-51 by D. N. Pritt, are therefore extremely timely. They provide a wealth of information, analysis and argument.

The Tory Years is a paperback, at 12s. 6d. It deals with Tory policies in the fields of living standards, nationalised industries, the social services, and foreign policy.

D. N. Pritt's book on *The Labour Government* is a far larger work, published at 37s. 6d., and is the fullest history of the post-war Labour Gov-

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ernment yet written. Session by session, from 1945 to the electoral defeat in 1951, it chronicles what Labour did—and failed to do.

One conclusion emerges most clearly from Pritt's pages. The Labour leaders had from the outset no intention of challenging the rule of the great monopolies. But their commitment to the anti-Soviet alliance, to rearmament and NATO, imposed on the country ruinous burdens which kept living standards down, nullified any progressive policies in such fields as housing, education and social insurance, and led finally and inevitably to the Tory comeback.

It is very useful to have this book before us now, and Pritt's careful analysis of Labour Government policy in the past is a great incentive to unite now not only to defeat the Tories but with them the right wing in the Labour movement.

Women's Institutes and Art

Twelve years ago, Women's Institutes in villages in all parts of Britain started art classes, and soon after, painting and sketching were introduced into the curriculum of Denman College, their national educational centre.

This year, the Institutes in the different counties of England and Wales have been organising exhibitions of their members' works; the National Committee had some 12,000 works to choose from for a central exhibition in London in April.

Some of the 400 pictures and 30 pieces of sculpture finally selected were very good. They included a great variety of styles, and the artists' ages ranged from 13 to 85. Subjects were mainly from everyday life, many from working life. A number of the exhibitors were wives of working farmers and small-holders.

A selection from the Exhibition will be touring until the spring, visiting amongst other places, Coventry, Lincoln, Batley, Shrewsbury, Stoke Newington, Bristol, Bury and Bridlington.

Soviet Studies of British Labour

We have written several times in these editorial comments about the great interest amongst Soviet historians in the British radical and Labour movement, and of the extensive research work that is being done on this subject in the U.S.S.R.

Two further works have recently appeared in the series *History of the British Working Class in Modern Times* which is being published by the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

The first by E. B. Chernyak, one of the general editors of the series, is a 700-page work on *The Mass Movement in Britain and Ireland at the End of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th Century*. It begins with an analysis of the economic position and class structure of Britain at the end of the 18th century, describes the agitation and struggles of the working class between 1789-1798, the rising activity of the radical organisations 1792-95, and discusses the ideology of this end-century radical and democratic movement. It passes on to a study of the mutiny in the fleet and the struggles of the United Irishmen.

The second, by N. A. Yerofeev, another editor of the series, is a study of *Emigration and Class War in Britain*, 1825-1850. The author estimates that in the three decades between 1821-1850, whilst the population of the United Kingdom increased by around 6 million, some 2½ million emigrated (1½ million to U.S.A., 950,000 to Canada, over 200,000 to Australia and New Zealand).

Why did they go? What were the economic and social conditions that forced them to it? How far did political persecution contribute? What were the problems of the emigrants? What was the effect of this mass exodus on the radical, Chartist and trade union movements? These are some of the problems examined by the author, and unlike several other works on the history of emigration, this is a *political* book which treats the whole bitter problem in relation to the life and struggles of the people.

History of Political Economy

Readers of German will be interested in a massive work undertaken by Professor Fritz Behrens in the German Democratic Republic — a five-volume *Outline of the History of Political Economy*.

The first volume,[1] which has just appeared, opens with a discussion of the scope and subject matter of political economy, and the Marxist approach to the study of its history. After a brief survey of economic theory in pre-capitalist societies, the author proceeds to an examination of Mercantilism, and thence to a survey of the work of the forerunners of classical political economy in England and of the Physiocrats in France. The latter part of the volume is mainly devoted to a study of the classic period of English political economy.

According to the present plans of Professor Behrens, the second volume will deal with pre-Marxist socialist economists and with the Marxist political economy of capitalism. Volumes three and four will cover the development of bourgeois economic theory up to and then during the general crisis of capitalism, whilst the last volume will treat the political economy of socialism.

[1] Behrens — *Grundriss Der Geschichte Der Politischen* Okonomie, I. Akademie-Verlag, Berlin.

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Classics of Marxism

Foundation members of the Communist Party can often be heard to tell of the great difficulties of the pioneers of the movement in studying (or rather finding) the writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. At the time of the Unity Convention of 1920 only a handful of Marx-Engels works were available in English, and the works of Lenin confined to a few pamphlets.

Now forty or so years later the position is very different. Most of the main works of Marx and Engels have been translated, though we still have not started on English translations of the new editions of the Marx-Engels works which are being published by the Marx-Lenin Institutes in the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic. The Russian edition has reached Vol. 29 and the German edition Vol. 23 (of 40 volumes).

However, *Lawrence & Wishart* will be giving us this year Vol. 1 of Karl Marx's *Theories of Surplus Value* (there will be three volumes in all), the third volume of the *Correspondence* of Engels with Paul and Laura Lafargue, and, possibly, the full edition of Marx and Engels' *German Ideology*.

Fifteen volumes are now available in English[2] of the *Collected Works* of Lenin which will be completed in 40 volumes. These are Vols. 1-14 which take us up to the end of 1918, and Vol. 38, Lenin's *Philosophical Notebooks*. We can expect a further five to six volumes in the course of the next year.

In the Soviet Union a new revised edition of the *Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism* has appeared recently, and it is hoped that this will be available in English before the end of the year.

Incidentally of particular interest for the life and activity of Marx and Engels, and for the study of the British and international labour movement, is the forthcoming publication in five volumes of the *Documents of the First International*. These are being prepared by the Marx-Lenin Institute of the U.S.S.R. and should be completed by 1964, year of the Centenary of the formation of the International Working Men's Association. They will all be translated into English and published by Lawrence & Wishart.

The first volume — which will be published shortly — covers the main documents of 1864-66, including the Minutes of the General Council for the period and the report of the 1865 London Conference. The documents of the International have been some of the "rarest" publications of the Labour Movement, to be found only in a few of the largest libraries or (and that most seldom) at fantastic prices in Antiquarian Bookshops.

[2] *Lawrence & Wishart*, 7s. 6d. each volume.

Challenge of Marxism

The Committee responsible for organising the week of discussion and debate (November 14-19) under the auspices of this journal and with the general title of "Challenge of Marxism" has now issued its preliminary publicity. This takes the form of a folder in which are listed the speakers so far engaged and the subjects to be discussed. An outstanding event, we learn, will be a talk by Professor J. D. Bernal on the topic *The Universe and Life*. This will raise for discussion questions vital to both science and philosophy in the light of the new knowledge that is emerging about the nature and origins of life and of the universe.

Very interesting discussions are being arranged on philosophy (in which the Linguistics School will be dealt with), sociology, history and economics. The speakers in these fields will include Dobb, Halsey, Aaronovitch, Cornforth, Hobsbawm and Bellamy.

Alan Bush and Arnold Kettle will each make a contribution on *The Artist and Society* and efforts are in hand to arrange a debate on Democracy under Socialism and Capitalism.

Canon Collins and George Matthews are to take part in a discussion on *The Roots of War and the Conditions for Peace*.

In the folder now issued those interested are asked to write in for copies of the full programme to be sent to them when it is completed. They are also invited to reserve all-in tickets for the week at the price of 10s. each. The address is T. Ainley, *Marxism Today*, 16 King Street, London, W.C.2. It should be noted that the final programme will not be ready until after the end of August.

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Britain's Crisis 1962-63

We print below the second part of a report prepared by the Economic Sub-Committee of the Communist Party, along with a summary of the third part on Policy Proposals. The first part on "Economic Trends in the Capitalist World" was printed in our May issue.

UNDER the rule of the private capitalist monopolies and their Conservative government, Britain's economy plunged yet more deeply into crisis during 1962.

At home unemployment rose sharply and recession began to creep over the economy. *Externally*, the balance of payments showed signs of a renewed deterioration in the second half of the year—indicating once more that ruling class policies are incapable of securing any permanent improvement on this front. Finally, with the turn of the year, the gambler's throw of trying to get Britain into the Common Market has ended in an inglorious fiasco. Entry into the Common Market was presented by Macmillan as the key to the solution of Britain's economic difficulties. Utterly unconvincing as his argument was on this point, it is now further apparent that the government is left without the glimmerings of a national economic policy, and is indeed unwilling to commit itself to any precise course of action until the U.S. government gives it new marching orders.

The Economy at Home

The increase in *industrial production* achieved in 1959 and 1960 came to a halt in mid-1961, and a new decline set in at the end of 1961 and the beginning of 1962. The renewed pick-up in mid-1962 petered out into a new decline in the last quarter of the year. Overall economic activity, as measured by the value of the *gross domestic product*, followed a similar course but levelled off already in the third quarter of 1962. (Table II).

The very poor performance of industrial output

TABLE II

GENERAL ECONOMIC INDICATORS

Indexes: 1958 = 100.

Period	Industrial Production	Gross Domestic Product	Personal Consumption	Fixed Capital Investment	Output per head of labour force
Year– 1958	100	100	100	100	100
1959	105	103	104	108	103
1960	112	108	108	118	106
1961	114	111	109	128	107
1962	115	—	—	—	—
Quarters & Months					
1961– I	113	110	110	125	—
„ II	115	111	109	128	—
„ III	115	111	109	133	—
„ IV	113	111	109	127	—
1962 I	113	109	109	126	—
„ II	116	112	111	128	—
„ III	117	112	111	128	—
„ IV	115	—	—	—	—

— Not available

Sources: Board of Trade Journal 25/1/63 and 15/3/63. "Statistics on Incomes, Prices etc." "Economic Trends".

Notes:

All at constant (1958) prices.

Gross domestic product—value of all home-produced goods and services.

Output per head calculated on basis of gross domestic product.

Quarterly and monthly figures are all seasonably adjusted.

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since mid-1961 is to be viewed with all the greater concern because productive capacity has been considerably enlarged since 1958. From 1958 to 1961 total expenditure on fixed capital rose by 28 per cent (Table II), and for the manufacturing industries alone the figure was 30 per cent.

The failure of output to rise in line with capital investment means, firstly, that we are losing a great deal of production, that the national income is much smaller than it could be. Beyond this also, the economy is being pushed down into a recession, because capital investment has been cut back in face of excess production capacity. By the third quarter of 1962, total fixed capital expenditure had fallen back by about 4 per cent as compared with the peak reached in the third quarter of 1961. In the case of the manufacturing industries, the decline in capital expenditure from 3rd quarter 1961 to 4th quarter 1962 was 23 per cent.

Third, and most critical of all, capital expenditures since 1958 have not simply increased productive capacity, but have also raised labour productivity. Since the same output can be produced with a smaller labour force, a stagnation (and still more a decline) in total output must lead to the growth of unemployment.

Unemployment

In effect, according to the government's calculations, average productivity per head of the labour force over the whole economy rose by 7 per cent from 1958 to 1961. During most of this period, the rise in total output was fast enough both to absorb this increase in labour productivity, and simultaneously, to draw into employment workers previously unemployed and also new workers entering the labour force from school. That is to say, up to September 1961, there was an increase in the total number of persons employed, and a decline in unemployment.

From September 1961, however, the situation began to change. While the total number of persons in employment still continued to grow, this increase was no longer rapid enough to allow for the natural increase in the total available working population. From that time on, therefore, the number of unemployed workers increased month by month as compared with a year earlier, with the latest figure of 747,324 in March, as this report is written.

It is clear that the situation has been deteriorating particularly rapidly since September 1962. In that month the total number of people in civil employment showed a fall as compared with a year earlier, and by November those in civil employment in Great Britain were 117,000 fewer than in November 1961. The army of the unemployed is in fact now being recruited from two directions—those previously in work but now dismissed, and those seeking to enter the labour force for the first time, but unable to find jobs.[1]

The growth of unemployment in Britain is, on the one side, due to the normal working out of the capitalist boom-slump (or recovery-recession) cycle. But when we compare the position of the United Kingdom at the present stage with the other main capitalist countries, it is clear that the situation of our economy has been aggravated by the disastrous policies and mismanagement of the ruling class. Moreover, unemployment has been brought on in part by quite deliberate acts of government policy—even if the number of unemployed has gone beyond what the government was seeking.

It will be remembered that the government's reaction to the 1960-61 balance of payments crisis was once again to clamp down restrictions on the home economy, culminating finally in mid-1961 in a 7 per cent Bank Rate, the "wages pause" and other measures. The purpose of these damping down measures were the old familiar ones—the reduction of home demand and the demand for imports; to try to push more British goods into export markets; to hit at wages in order simultaneously to keep down production costs and bolster profits, and to introduce a greater degree of "flexibility" into the labour market.

This greater "flexibility"—in plain terms a permanently higher level of unemployment—has been sought by the ruling class in order to increase the power of capital as against the working class.

The idea of "full employment" that there should always be a very low level of unemployment with more jobs vacant than unemployed workers, was one of the *apparent* conquests of the working class post-1945. More and more, however, the ruling class has schemed and manoeuvred to filch this away.

Simultaneously a second *apparent* post-war advance, closely connected with the idea of "full employment" has been shown to exist on paper rather than in reality. In effect, the depressed areas of the 1930's are again emerging, areas with levels of unemployment chronically higher than the national average, and in process of more or less serious economic decay.

While certain areas are declining, the South Eastern part of the country is suffering from an excessive crowding in of population. Here again, the post-war ideas of real national town and country planning, the distribution of the population over the whole area of the national territory so as to get the best possible results, social and economic, for all regions—those ideas have been utterly betrayed by our monopoly capitalist rulers.

To crown all, in face of this winter's severe weather,

[1] "... there was a marked rise in the underlying trend of unemployment in the last quarter of the year." (Treasury *Bulletin for Industry*, January, 1963.)

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the government demonstrated that it was neither sufficiently concerned nor capable of moving to take radical action to deal with the problems, on the one side of fuel, light, travel, etc., and on the other of still further increased unemployment.

Consumption and Wages

The wages pause and other economic restrictions imposed in 1961 were officially justified by the argument that demand was building up to excessive, inflationary proportions. But according to the government's own figures, in real terms, i.e. discounting price increases, total personal consumption increased by less than 1 per cent from 1960 to 1961. During 1961 it stagnated. Only in mid-1962 did it begin to move forward a little, only to stagnate again in the third quarter. The same trend is seen in retail sales, again discounting price increases. Here the rise from 1960 to 1961 was less than 3 per cent, and in 1962 as a whole there was no increase at all over 1961. From the third quarter of 1962 through to January 1963 (the latest figure available) there was a complete stagnation in retail sales.

The failure of consumption to increase, against a background of a rise in basic labour productivity and the expansion in productive capacity, indicates the damage done to the national economy by the wages pause.

From July 1961 to December 1961 the official index of weekly wage rates (1956 = 100) rose hardly at all—from 125.1 to 126.4. Retail prices, however, went up from 114.6 to 117.1 (1956 = 100). This rise in prices continued through to 120.9 in June 1962, and after declining somewhat, finished the year 1962 at 120.2 in December. The fight back against the wages pause pushed the weekly wage rate index up to 129.3 in June 1962, with some further advance to 131.7 in November. In sum, we get the following picture (Table III).

TABLE III
INDEXES 31 Jan. 1956 = 100

	Change from July '61 to Dec. '61	Change from Dec. '61 to June '62	Change from June '62 to Nov.'62	Change from July '61 to Nov.'62
	%	%	%	%
Retail prices ..	+2.2	+3.1	−1.1	+4.4
Wage rates ..	+1	+2.3	+1.8	+5.3

Thus weekly wage rates lagged right behind the increases in retail prices from July 1961 through to June 1962; only when prices dropped somewhat from this June 1962 level, and some further gains were made in wages, did they catch up.

More than ever, with the purchasing power of many workers cut sharply by unemployment, and with hire-purchase now running at a much reduced level, consumption and with it the level of economic activity as a whole needs to be bolstered up by increases in wages and salaries.

It will be recalled that the balance of payments position reached its worst situation recently in 1960, with a deficit recorded (taking the current transactions and long-term capital exports accounts together) of £595 million. In 1961 this deficit fell to £51 million and in the first half of 1962 a surplus of £55 million was recorded compared with a deficit in the same period of 1961 of £87 million.

In the third quarter of 1962, however, the position once again deteriorated, with a deficit of £98 million for the three months (i.e. July-September 1962) as compared with a deficit of £12 million for the same months in 1961.

The Balance of Payments

This renewed widening of the deficit reflected two main factors. Firstly, the current transactions account went back again into deficit, after showing surpluses in the first and second quarters of 1962. Secondly, exports of long term capital from the U.K. (*net* i.e. after allowing for import of capital) rose again sharply.

The basic problem of the U.K. balance of payments, which we have analysed extensively in previous reports, remained unaltered in 1962. Certain key factors only may be re-emphasised here.

Firstly, the official figures once again thoroughly discredit the whole line of ruling class argument, which implies that the main, indeed the only problem of the balance of payments is that exports need to pay for imports. We show the position over the last four years, the figures for 1962 referring to January to September only, since the full twelve months' data is not yet published (Table IV).

TABLE IV
CURRENT ACCOUNT
U.K. BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

Year	Excess of imports over exports	Government expenditure abroad (net)	Deficit (−) or surplus (=) on all current transactions*
		£ millions	
1959	−106	−233	+111
1960	−393	−287	−301
1961	−143	−338	− 77
1962, Jan-Sept.	− 70	−277	+ 51
Total of above	−712	−1,135	−216

* This includes in addition, all other current transactions, i.e. shipping, travel, profits, interest, etc.
Source: Quarterly Bulletin Bank of England, March 1963.

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The principal cause of the net deficit recorded on the United Kingdom current account over these four years was *not* the excess of imports over exports, but the fantastic and *growing* overseas expenditure of the government mainly for military purposes—i.e. NATO, and imperial war bases scattered over the world.

To secure a quick improvement in the United Kingdom's foreign payments position, the first step would be to cut military expenditure overseas right back—preferably to zero. This step, furthermore, as part of a general cut in U.K. military spending at home also, would release important economic resources (scientists, skilled workers, plant, etc., etc.) which would make an increase in U.K. exports much easier to achieve—without the disastrous policies of deliberately clamping down on home consumption in order to try to force up exports.

Secondly, the U.K. balance of payments is weighed down by the export of capital, which represents principally the monopolists sending their money abroad because it suits their private interests—irrespective of the real interests of the nation (Table V).

The reduced figure for the *net* export of private capital in 1960/61 resulted from a higher level of imports of foreign capital, which offset for the time being a larger part of the regular outflow of British capital abroad. During 1962, however, it appears that this import of foreign capital began to fall away again, thus uncovering again one of the crucial weaknesses in the balance of payments, i.e. the outflow of British private capital in excess of any surplus on the current account which would justify this economically.

Here lies *one* reason for the panic and stupefaction which the breakdown of the Brussels negotiations produced among the ranks of Britain's rulers. Behind all the sickening hypocrisy of "capital exports to help the under-developed countries" the place where many of the U.K. monopolists really want to put their money is in the Common Market. If the British government could have secured entry to the Common Market, it hoped to be able to balance such a further export of British capital in that direction by securing more imports of American capital into the U.K. This was the continuation of the old line: what matter that the British national economy was becoming more and more an American economic satellite, if the British private monopolists thereby gained greater opportunity to put their own capital outside the country? The breakdown of the Common Market negotiations, however, may, our rulers fear, discourage U.S. capital investment here, while leaving our own monopolists as eager as ever to get their money out of the country.

Neddy—Quack Remedy

State monopoly capitalism and the Tory government have reduced Britain's economy to the most parlous state since 1945. On the home front there is recession and mass unemployment, and on the external front the first warnings of a new balance of payments crisis and a general disorientation of our foreign trade policy.

The immediate cause of our economic difficulties are the anti-national class aims imposed on the country by the monopolist ruling class. These aims, the last-ditch maintenance of imperialism and the blind pursuit of the cold war, have piled impossible

TABLE V
EXPORTS OF LONG-TERM CAPITAL

YEAR	Private Capital			Export of government funds	Total Private + government
	Export of British capital	Import of foreign capital	Net exports (−) or net imports (+)		
			£ millions		
1959 ..	−316	+176	−140	−353*	−493
1960 ..	−312	+221	− 91	−102	−193
1961 ..	−338	+406†	+ 68	− 42	+ 26
1962 Jan./Sept.	—	—	− 41	− 53	− 94
Total ..	(−966)	(+803)	−204	−550	−754

Source: As Table IV

* The Government paid its subscription of £230 mn. odd to the IMF this year, thus inflating the figure.

† Includes about £130 mn. for Ford takeover.

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military and other burdens on our economy, and have tied our international policies, both economic and political, in a most slavish dependence on American imperialism. As the rivalries and contradictions between the main capitalist-imperialist powers have sharpened, so have the policies of the British ruling class placed our country in the most exposed and disadvantageous positions.

But the whole basic trend of the Tory government's policy is to persist along the same lines as before—indeed, to plunge more deeply along the road which has already proved so disastrous. Military expenditures are being raised still further; we are being tied up ever more in the NATO Cold War machine; and we are being reduced more and more to the status of an American jackal.

As the policies of the ruling class drive us closer to complete economic bankruptcy, inevitably they seek to find some way out, or at least to buy a little more time by sharpening their class war against the working people. The basic aim is to force up productivity and the exploitation of labour and to force down living standards—though naturally this is usually kept more or less concealed by suitable demagogy, etc.

Economic policy now presents the appearance of utter confusion. This confusion is real enough, reflecting the impossibility of framing a coherent policy which is capable of sustaining the aims of the ruling class. But in certain respects the confusion is deliberately maintained in order to cover up the class aims being pursued.

The deliberate measures of economic restriction imposed from the end of 1960 and culminating in mid-1961, were defended as necessary to prevent renewed inflation, etc. In fact they served to aggravate a downturn which was already in the making, and turned it into a recession.

On paper the government has condemned its whole previous policy of switching monotonously from "stop" to "go" and back again to "stop". In fact it is clear that, left to its own devices the government will do no more than tinker with the problem of the depressed areas, and it has so far made only limited moves in the direction of re-stimulating the level of economic activity in the country as a whole.

The N.E.D.C. is supposed to be producing the answer to the problem of economic policy. Here confusion and equivocation reach particular depths. Neddy's figures for economic growth are commonly described as "targets", but this is completely misleading unless and until the government commits itself clearly and definitely to these figures, and to measures likely to secure that they are achieved. This it has never done. If it should do so, then the real issue would come on to the agenda, namely, would the targets be achieved in practice?

Confusion here suits our rulers admirably. In earlier years, for electioneering purposes, the Tories could afford to use the *substance* of a gimmick, i.e. they actually applied a boost to the economy, short-lived as it proved to be. Now they are in two minds whether even this could be afforded, thus their need for a shadow gimmick in the shape of a Neddy "target". The Neddy "target" is, secondly, the bait which is being used to try to trap the trade union leadership into acceptance of a State imposed wage policy.

Neddy's calculations and enquiries have solved nothing in respect of the U.K.'s basic economic problems. What they show is that *technically*, a certain rate of economic growth would be possible, that is, that the U.K. has the necessary economic resources for growth. But this was well known before. But the issue that Neddy does not and will not face is that economic growth in Britain has been retarded by monopoly capitalism and its policies. It is these which have to be swept out of the way. One point Neddy has confirmed is that the chief immediate obstacle to economic growth in the U.K. is the balance of foreign payments. But in confirming this, it commits itself to the perpetuation of the exact class policies which are at the root of the payments problem, and is incapable therefore of saying much more than that exports should, somehow, be made to rise in order to pay for the economic follies of overseas military expenditures and the export of private capital.

Lessons

The course and final breakdown of the Common Market negotiations are full of useful lessons for the British people. They confirmed in detail the reasons advanced by the British Communist Party for its opposition—an opposition steadfastly maintained from the outset.

Firstly, even at the stage reached prior to the breakdown, Macmillan's representative had bargained away one interest of Britain and the Commonwealth after another. This process would no doubt have continued, and it would be started again at the earliest possible moment if Macmillan had his way.

Secondly, the argument that entry into the Common Market was the key to the solution of the U.K.'s economic problems has been thoroughly exposed as false. If we take the question of the tariff, this is revealed as not being of crucial importance for U.K. exports. Of course, the fact that the Common Market countries are erecting around themselves a common external tariff, which discriminates against British and other outside goods, has its importance. But the fact is that in the recent period, despite this, U.K. exports to the Common Market countries have increased because boom conditions have prevailed in these countries. It is the waning of this boom which constitutes for the

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future the main problem for U.K. exports in this direction. The tariff in itself is certainly not so important as to warrant all the sacrifices proposed by Macmillan to secure entry.

Thirdly, the fact that the boom has passed its peak in Western Germany and that in general the economic outlook in the Common Market is less rosy destroys the illusion spread abroad that the Common Market held the key to permanent prosperity, a boon automatically to be bestowed on all those allowed entry. Monopoly capitalism is still monopoly capitalism, inside or outside the Market, and is fraught with the same internal contradictions.

Fourthly, the Tories have destroyed their own pretence that wonderful things would start to happen once inside the Market. They have done so by insisting on the fact that they had no clear idea of what to do next when the negotiations were broken off. In this case it is perfectly evident that, from an economic point of view, entry into the Common Market was the stupidest possible type of gamble. No plans or projects were available for the reform, re-invigoration, etc. of the British economy —if they had been ready then they could have been put into operation right away. Since they were not ready, the only possible conclusion is that entry into the Market was seen by the government as some sort of magic—a new, bright Britain produced not by the brains and efforts of the British people, but by our submitting to interference from the Commission of the Common Market.

Fifthly, this confirms the fact that the principal aim in entering the Market was political, the economic argumentation being in large part an attempt to find creditable reasons for doing something which was in fact thoroughly discreditable. The aim was to commit the U.K. more closely than ever to the Cold War, and this in particular as an instrument for American policy within the Continental West European Cold War bloc. The childish rage of Macmillan and the rest when the French government brutally rejected the U.K.'s application and exposed our government as a miserable American jackal is surely the final proof that these people must no longer be allowed to rule in Britain.

Sixthly, we have had a new demonstration of the folly of treating a bloc of thoroughly reactionary governments as a step in the direction of "international unity", the "unification of Europe" and the like. The Common Market has happened so far, in the period since 1957, to suit the interests of the dominant forces in it, monopoly capital in Western Germany and France. It also suited the interests of American imperialism for a time, but U.S. policy then shifted to the extent of wanting its own stooge in the inner councils, a role assigned to Britain. This manoeuvre in turn secured a certain support from the lesser Common Market powers looking for some counterweight to dictation from the Bonn-Paris axis. In turn again the French government reacted back against this American manoeuvre by blocking the U.K.'s entry. At this the weaker Common Market powers became still more restive, rejecting, on paper, the role of colonies of France and threatening, in words, that the whole Common Market enterprise would grind to a halt. And in all this the West German militarists, with the U.K. in or out of the Market, steadily pursue their aim of getting their hands on the H-Bomb. This once achieved, they could exert their dominant economic position in Western Europe to impose their policies openly and in full.

Summary of Policy Proposals

The Report says: "as the crisis is due in a considerable measure to the past policies of the Government and at a deeper level to a recession arising out of the operation of post-war monopoly capitalism, it is evident that it can only be effectively dealt with by driving the representatives of the monopolists—the Tory Government—to face a General Election. In every partial struggle against the effects of the crisis we must raise the demand for the resignation of the Government."

The report makes the following demands:

END ARMS WASTE by cutting military expenditure, particularly overseas military expenditure, campaigning for the ending of all nuclear tests, for closing down all nuclear bases in Britain and for the British Government to play a positive part in the struggle for general and complete disarmament.

EXPAND BRITISH TRADE on the basis of being willing to trade with all the world. Special attention to be paid to the expansion, on the basis of long term agreement, of trade with Commonwealth countries (old and new), and with the Soviet Union and the Socialist world.

PLANNING FOR WHAT? "Genuine comprehensive economic planning involves the conquest of political power, and the socialist nationalisation of all major industries, but certain partial measures could be undertaken by a Labour government, under strong working class pressure." The situation demands a National fuel and transport policy and the establishment of effective control over the major industries. Steel and Road Transport should be re-nationalised, and engineering, ship-building, building and building materials, chemicals, textiles, banks and private insurance companies should be nationalised, as should urban land.

BRITAIN'S FARMS. Agriculture should continue to be aided by price support but steps should be taken to ensure that the benefit of subsidies passes to the farmers. There should be a radical reorganisation of the marketing of farm produce and of the distribution network generally.

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THE FIGHT FOR JOBS. This should commence in the workshop by the workers struggling to remain on the job until alternative work is found.

In addition to the measures above outlined there should be an immediate increase in unemployed benefit—£4 10s. for a single person; £8 for a married couple, and £1 for each dependent child, plus a rent allowance.

WAGES AND PENSIONS. It is said that the unions must defeat the efforts of the Right Wing leaders to secure a *de facto* acceptance of wage and salary restrictions and should continue the struggle for increased wages and the 40-hour week. The whole scale of social insurance benefits should be raised to £4 10s. per week for a single person.

STRUGGLE FOR HOMES. The housing crisis, spotlighted by the tragedy of the homeless requires as a minimum the building of 400,000 houses a year for renting. Interest on housing loans should be reduced to 2 per cent and lower mortgage rates should be available to those who want to buy houses.

CAMPAIGN FOR EDUCATION. Britain needs far reaching educational reforms. It is essential to raise the school leaving age to 16 and reduce the size of classes to 30 and less. The 11-plus examination must be ended, with the setting up of comprehensive schools to give every child a good secondary education. The aim should be to train half a million scientists and technicians by 1970.

The Report concludes by giving the warning that "deep as the crisis is, the Government can recover from it unless it is continually attacked and exposed, and unless every opportunity is seized to develop the mass movement. The Government must be given no time to recover and to devise new policies for the deception of the people".

Mozart and Freemasonry

Katherine Thomson

"Mozart's musical and spiritual development ran its course quite independently of his personal fate, in a closed and inaccessible sphere, above all everyday experience."[1]

"The consciousness of his membership of the order permeates his entire work. Not only the 'Magic Flute', but many other of Mozart's works are masonic, even though they reveal nothing of this quality to the uninitiated."[2]

THESE two quotations from the same book are in fact contradictory. Mozart's active membership of the order of Freemasons is an indisputable proof that he was profoundly concerned with the problems of the society in which he lived, whose struggles and aspirations are reflected in his music.

It is generally recognised that *The Magic Flute* is an expression of masonic ideas, but no real study has apparently been made of the way in which these ideas are expressed in his instrumental music. To understand *The Magic Flute* we should examine it in the light of our knowledge of Freemasonry in Mozart's time, remembering that in Central Europe at the end of the 18th century it represented a part of the revolutionary movement, thus differing considerably from the institution as we know it in England today. Even in the 18th century there were many different forms of Freemasonry in different countries. In Austria the most widely supported was that known as Illuminated Freemasonry, which had originated in Bavaria, one of the most backward of the German states. Contemporary writers describe the poverty and ignorance of the peasantry, the clerical domination and religious bigotry, and the rising mood of anger among the intellectuals, fanned by revolutionary ideas from France, which not even the strictest censorship could keep out.

Since the power of the feudal nobility was closely linked with that of the Church (which owned a third of the land in Catholic countries) it was necessarily against the Church that the forerunners of the French Revolution directed their attack. The Encyclopedists aimed at achieving a universal humanism, and at ending slavery and superstition, by means of Reason, based on a study of Nature, through which man might learn to control his own destiny.

The Illuminati

These ideas formed the basis of the doctrines of the Illuminati founded in 1776 by Adam Weishaupt, a professor of Canon Law at the

[1] *For references, see page* 179.

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University of Ingolstadt, near Munich, as a "League against the enemies of Reason and Humanity."[3] Members of the order were at first called Perfectibilists; later the name was changed to Illuminati. Their aim was to educate mankind through "secret schools of wisdom" (also called "Lights"). Weishaupt described his order as follows:—

> "I have contrived a system which possesses every advantage. It attracts Christians of every communion, gradually frees them from all religious prejudices, cultivates the social virtues, and animates them by a great, feasible, and speedy prospect of universal happiness in a state of liberty and moral equality, freed from the obstacles which subordination and inequalities of rank and wealth continually throw in our way. . . .
>
> "To fit man by Illumination for active virtue, to engage him to it by the strongest motives, to render the attainment of it easy and certain by finding employment for every talent. . . . so that all, without any extraordinary effort and in conjunction with their ordinary business shall urge forward, with united powers, the general task:— this will indeed be an employment suited to noble natures, grand in its aims and delightful in their pursuit".[4]

Weishaupt had been educated in a Jesuit seminary, but came under the influence of Rousseau and the Encyclopedists, and set out to combat Jesuit influence in education. In founding a lodge in Munich, he took over certain forms of ritual and organisation from Freemasonry, but based his order on rational and ethical rather than on mystical or magical ideas, such as were prevalent in some masonic sects. It has been said that the Illuminati represented the Left and the Rosicrucians the Right wing among Freemasons.

The Illuminati attracted the support of intellectuals, including artists, writers and scientists, but there were also members of the nobility, army, and even clergy. The leaders, whose deliberations were very secret, were called the Areopagus; they were given classical names, such as Spartacus, Cato, and Philo; places were also named after classical models, such as Athens (Munich) and Rome (Vienna).

One of the most active of the leaders was Baron von Knigge, whose ideas were more radical than Weishaupt, with whom he eventually quarrelled. Knigge travelled all over Germany and Austria making recruits, especially in the masonic lodges. At its peak the order claimed about 2,000 members; but its influence was greater than might be inferred from this figure. In fact, most of the bourgeois intellectuals of the time were supporters of the ideas of the Illuminati.

Persecution

Naturally an anti-clerical, rationalistic secret society aroused the suspicion of the authorities. A campaign was initiated by the Jesuits, supported by members of the rival Rosicrucian sect. In 1785 the order was made illegal; a witch-hunt ensued, with house-searchings, seizure of papers, arrests, and the banishment of Weishaupt. The order, weakened by divisions of opinion, was not strong enough to withstand persecution, but its ideas had already taken a strong hold in South Germany and Austria. Weishaupt found refuge in Saxe-Gotha, where he published a recantation of his views. Knigge, after a chequered career during which he wrote symphonies, sermons and newspaper articles, settled in Hamburg, and edited a dramatic journal (a copy of which was found among Mozart's papers). Knigge was an enthusiastic supporter of the French Revolution in its early stages, writing that it was "a consequence of the 'Light'."[5]

The spread of revolutionary ideas from France caused an intensification of the persecution in Bavaria: we even learn of the death penalty being imposed on anyone found making recruits to the Illuminati.

In Austria a more liberal regime existed under Joseph II (1780-1790), who was even thought to favour Freemasonry. In November 1785, however, soon after the ban on Illuminati in Bavaria, Joseph issued a decree reducing the number of masonic lodges in Vienna to three, restricting the membership and ordering exact lists of members and details of meetings to be published. This struck a severe blow at Freemasonry and virtually put an end to open Illuminist activity in Vienna. The attack was led by Jesuits, aided by renegade members of the order, including Leopold Aloys Hoffmann, secretary of Mozart's lodge at the time of his admission. Hoffmann founded a journal "to combat Illuminated Freemasonry", and later tried to prove "that the Viennese Freemasons had caused the French Revolution, having given the necessary impetus to the discontent of the people of France, oppressed by a despotic government."[6]

One of the most important of the Viennese lodges was True Harmony, founded in 1780 by Ignaz von Born, a distinguished metallurgist, who is thought to be the prototype of Sarastro. Born was a member of the Illuminati, as were many members of his lodge, including the writer Sonnenfels, leader of all the Illuminati in Austria. This lodge, which was criticised by orthodox masons for "making the masonic oath appear ridiculous"[7] and "belittling the importance of magic"[7] was clearly run on Illuminist lines. It was

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the chief cultural centre for the Viennese Freemasons, where literary and scientific meetings were held, as well as musical rehearsals and performances. It had a large library of literary and scientific books, and published a scientific journal, edited by Born. The lodge Benevolence, to which Mozart was admitted in 1784, was a daughter-lodge of True Harmony, with which it shared a temple.

When the persecution of the Illuminati commenced in Bavaria, Born sent his resignation to the Munich Academy of Sciences, of which he was a member, and also wrote an open letter to the press protesting at the witch-hunt, and particularly at the imprisonment of a young officer called Meggenhofen. This young man, accused only of corresponding with members of the Illuminati after the order had been proclaimed illegal, was sentenced to imprisonment after a farcical trial in which he conducted his own defence with a dignity and courage worthy of Dimitrov. Born's letter includes the following words:—

> "I declare myself to be an open enemy of ignorant monks, who ought never to be entrusted with the education of youth: I declare that the words Jesuitry and Fanaticism can be equated with roguery and ignorance, superstition and stupidity: in short my opinion is completely opposed to what seems to be the official opinion in Bavaria."[8]

In the same journal appeared a letter which is worth quoting as an example of the "superstition and stupidity" referred to.

> "A small group of Catholic believers rejoiced with me at the wise and enlightened verdict against the impertinent philosopher Meggenhofen, who has been compelled to atone for his crimes by incarceration, because he was not ashamed to place openly in his library the books of heathen writers such as Cicero, Sallust and Livy, and, even worse, to read them."[9]

Mozart and the Order

It is clear that Mozart was interested in Freemasonry long before he joined the order. Even in Salzburg, many of his friends were Illuminati. Although the first lodge was not opened in Salzburg until 1783, when Mozart was living in Vienna, it was already considered "a nest of Illuminati". The Archbishop Colloredo, though arrogant and autocratic, was liberal-minded, and refused to join in the persecution of the order.

From the topographer Hübner, writing in 1792, we learn of gatherings by night in a lonely grotto organised by one of the leading Illuminati, Count Gilowsky, "with his friends von Amann, Mozart and Barisani.[10] The names of Amann and Gilowsky are familiar to us in Mozart's letters: Gilowsky's niece Katherl was one of his pupils.

There is no evidence that Mozart was ever a member of the order, though his name and Leopold's appear as guests of one of the lodges. After his death, his widow referred to a secret society which Wolfgang had planned to found, called "The Grotto", details of which she was unwilling to disclose, at a time when Freemasonry was illegal. References to Freemasonry in Mozart's letters are few; his sister Nannerl stated that Leopold had destroyed all such letters for reasons of security. One letter survives, in which Wolfgang discusses the masonic view of death, "that best friend of humanity".[11] From a letter written by Leopold to Nannerl in October 1785, referring to rumours about the persecution of the Illuminati in Munich, we can infer that he at any rate was not a member of the order.

Several of Mozart's early compositions disclose an interest in masonic ideas. In 1772 he wrote music for *King Thamos*, a play on an Egyptian theme by a Freemason called Gebler. The music foreshadows *The Magic Flute*, particularly in the choruses. An interesting feature is the superscription to certain phrases, "Thamos's nobility", "Pheron's hypocrisy". The use of musical phrases to depict moral qualities accords with the ideas of the Encyclopedists, who held that certain chords and progressions had specific moral effects.

The music for another work by a Freemason (Baron von Gemmingen) on an Egyptian theme, Semiramis, is unfortunately not extant. But the most important composition connected with masonic ideas written before Mozart joined the order is an unfinished cantata to words by an unknown author, *Hymn to the Sun* (K429). We do not know the circumstances connected with this cantata, probably composed in 1783; but after Mozart's death Constanze wrote the following description of it:

> "The first chorus in Eb is quite complete. It begins with a unison, and there prevails throughout a noble, simple, pleasant melody. In the words 'From thee cometh fruitfulness, warmth, light', the word 'light' is particularly prominent through a surprising forte on the chord of the seventh, and would doubtless make a strong impression on listeners if the accompaniment were set to the prescribed instruments—flutes, oboe, clarinets, bassoons and so on. After this chorus comes a tenor aria in Bb, full of the tenderest melody and with a wonderful accompaniment for contra-bass. But here is also lacking the other instruments. Lastly follows a second aria for tenor in which only 17 bars remain." [12]

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The title of this aria, "The lights which to thousands . . . " might give rise to speculation: can it be connected with the "lights" which mean "schools of wisdom"?

When Mozart came to Vienna in May 1781, after breaking from the feudal service of the Archbishop of Salzburg, he found his best friends among the bourgeois intellectuals and progressive members of the nobility, many of whom were Freemasons. Among them were Gebler, Von Gemmingen, Van Swieten, who introduced him to the music of Bach and Handel, and Von Born.

On December 14th, 1784, he was admitted to the lodge Benevolence. He seems to have placed his services readily at the disposal of the brotherhood. Thus we read in an invitation to a concert "in aid of two foreign brothers, performers on the basset-horn"—"P.S. Bro. Mozart will entertain the brothers with his much-loved improvisations".[13]

Music and the Ceremonies

But it was chiefly through his compositions that Mozart served the cause of Freemasonry. Music played an important part in the ceremonies. Its purpose was to unify the brothers and inspire them with zeal for their collective work. Meetings opened and closed with a song, and there were songs for special occasions. Most of them were for male-voice chorus accompanied by organ or clavier, or sometimes by woodwind (especially clarinets, bassoons and basset-horns). Many of the songs were antiphonal, with choral refrain. (The use of antiphony in German student songs may be derived from masonic songs, and is an indication of their popularity.) The tunes were taken from many sources, especially folk songs, popular songs and street songs of different countries.

Among masonic compositions before Mozart we find the use of certain rhythms and progressions to denote parts of the ritual. The "three knocks" signifying the apprentice asking for admission to the lodge, which is familiar to us in the Magic Flute overture, are found in cruder form, in Naumann's "Entry to the Lodge." [14] The same composer uses other symbols, such as suspensions and slurred notes to indicate the "chain of brothers"; thirds and sixths denote brotherly love; dotted rhythms stimulate the will to work.

Mozart's first composition after joining the order was a song, *Gesellenreise* (K468), performed in March 1785 on the occasion of Leopold's initiation to the lodge Benevolence. The melody is simple and tender, and contains the slurred notes symbolising the "chain".

In April 1785 Born was rewarded by the emperor for discovering a new amalgam of metals. The brothers of the lodge Crowned Hope "resolved to express their feelings of friendly joy, through brotherly harmony and gaiety by means of poetry and music".[15]

Early Compositions

A banquet was held, at which Mozart's cantata *Die Maurerfreude* (K471) was performed. The score was published and sold "for the best of the poor", with a copper-plate engraving depicting the goddess of wisdom crowning a bearded old man.

The cantata is for tenor solo and three-part male-voice chorus, with accompaniment of strings, woodwind and horns. It is in the favourite masonic key of Eb, and contains several of the masonic symbols such as dotted rhythms. The tone of the music is one of dignified joy: there is a passage of haunting beauty at the words "Take, beloved, this crown from Joseph's hands", with pizzicato bass accompaniment.

In the following November Mozart composed the *Masonic Funeral Music* (K477) to commemorate the death of two masons. This short work is of astonishing beauty and significance, foreshadowing the Men in Armour in the Magic Flute. It is in the key of C minor, so often associated with darkness: the sombre tones of the lower woodwind (including basset-horns), the throbbing quavers in the bass, the chromaticism and harsh discords, combine to express the depths of human sorrow. The Cantus Firmus, based on a Protestant psalm-tune which is itself derived from an ancient Jewish melody, seems to affirm an inexorable fate, against which the strings struggle in the masonic dotted rhythm. The music rises to a tremendous climax, then subsides into quiet sorrow. Three bars from the end an interrupted cadence suggests a glimmer of hope. The effect of the final C major chord is like a sudden transition from darkness to light, such as Haydn expressed, years afterwards, in his setting of the words "And there was light" in the *Creation*. This ending on a C major chord seems to signify man's triumph over death, in accordance with masonic ideas.

Two songs written in December 1785 (K483 & 4) refer to Joseph's decree, by which the lodge Benevolence was amalgamated with two other lodges to form Newly Crowned Hope. Both songs are for solo and three-part male chorus, and contain examples of masonic symbolism.

During the next five years Mozart wrote no more works for masonic ceremonies. But he wrote many works which are profoundly significant as an expression of his beliefs. In *Figaro* (1786) and

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Don Giovanni (1787) he exposed the corruption and immorality of the feudal aristocracy. In his chamber music, symphonies and piano concertos he expressed with ever deeper understanding, based on his own experiences, the struggles, sorrows and hopes of mankind in his generation. In these works, the masonic symbolism has become an integral part of his style, but its significance is far more than symbolistic.

Masonic Symbolism

A detailed analysis of the use of masonic symbolism in Mozart's instrumental music is impossible, without recourse to musical illustrations. It would, however, be possible to show that the dotted rhythm associated with manliness and struggle (as in the Finale of Act I of the *Magic Flute,* when the Genii tell Tamino: "Go, be a man, and thou shalt conquer.") is the basis for many instrumental movements, such as the first movement of the Jupiter Symphony (K551).

The "three knocks" may be identified in the last movement of the same symphony, where they are insistently repeated up to the triumphant close of the movement.

The repeated quavers of the overture to *The Magic Flute,* and of the *Prague Symphony* (K504) have been said to represent the hewing of raw stone which symbolises the perfecting of human character. The fact that the theme may have been suggested by one of Clementi's is irrelevant.

Examples of slurred notes, suspensions, series of first inversions, and interrupted cadences, all connected with masonic ritual, are too frequent to be listed: it is interesting, however, to compare their use in instrumental music with similar phrases in the *Magic Flute,* as in the *March of the Priests,* for example.

Above all, the influence of masonic ideas may be found in the development of what has been described as Mozart's "humanistic style", of which the main characteristics are simplicity and serenity. One writer has described it as follows: "Broad, sweeping melodies with wide intervals, solemn, cantilena, often derived from choral music, serene, simple rhythms." [16]

Such is the music of Sarastro, expressing tender love and understanding for suffering humanity. We recognise it in many instrumental movements: the Andante of the C major Quartet (K465), of the Jupiter Symphony, of the Piano Concertos in C major (K462 and 503).

Such music seems to express the masonic attitude to music, as indicated in the speech with which another great composer, Joseph Haydn, was initiated into the lodge True Harmony, in February 1785: "This man, to whom the goddess handed over a part of the magic art with which she quietens the stormy soul, soothes grief and pain, shortens dreary, melancholy hours, brings joy to men, and often inspires them with the noblest feelings." [17]

The years immediately following the French Revolution were difficult ones for the Freemasons, especially since Joseph's successor, Leopold II (1790-92), was hostile to the order. Many left the brotherhood at this time: yet Mozart, in the last year of his life, reaffirmed his belief in masonic ideals in unmistakable terms.

Two little-known cantatas are significant for their ideology as well as their style. The first (*You who adore the maker of the universe*—K619), for solo tenor with clavier accompaniment, was written in July 1791 at the request of a Hamburg merchant, F. H. Ziegenhagen, whose ideas were closely related to those of the Illuminati, and even of the Utopian Socialists. He had written a book called *"Introduction to the correct relationship of things to the works of creation as a means of applying it to universal happiness"*, and proposed to found a colony near Strasbourg in accordance with his views. Mozart agreed to write a song to be performed in the meeting-house of this colony. Critics have poured scorn on the words of this cantata; yet Mozart's setting embodies the profound humanism of its ideas. In style it resembles the *Magic Flute*: the three commands "Be wise, be strong, be brothers" foreshadow the three Genii; the first Andante resembles Sarastro's aria "O Isis and Osiris"; the Allegro bidding men "throw off the chains of superstition suggests the Queen of Night; while the final section:

> "Deserts shall bloom like Eden's fairest flower,
> Nature will greet you smiling everywhere,
> Then will you know true happiness of life"

expresses joy like that of Tamino.

Sketches for this work reveal that Mozart paid particular attention to the setting of the words "Be brothers", which he introduced at first with a series of first inversions.

The tone of deep solemnity which pervades the work, expressing a wide love of humanity combined with confidence and joy at the certainty of attaining a happier life on earth, make this cantata of great importance for the understanding of Mozart's music.

The *Short Masonic Cantata* (K623) composed in November 1791 was Mozart's last complete work. He wrote it for the dedication of a new temple for the lodge, Newly Crowned Hope. He conducted the performance himself, though already a sick man.

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"How madly they have gone on about my cantata," he wrote. "If I did not know that I had written better things, I should have thought it was my best work." [18]

The cantata opens with a three-part male-voice chorus in C major resembling the chorus "All hail to Sarastro" in the Magic Flute. A tenor solo praises the goddess of Benevolence (an allusion to Mozart's former lodge), and a second recitative, in which the bass joins, contains a remarkably expressive setting of the words "Let harmony unite this dearest band of brothers". This leads to a duet of great simplicity and serenity, in Mozart's "humanistic style". The song refers to "our newly-crowned hope": in view of the difficulties experienced by the brotherhood at this time, it is not surprising that the cantata was received with such enthusiasm.

A short hymn, "For the closing of the lodge" was probably written for the same occasion; like the duet, it is simple and serene.

"The Magic Flute"

Goethe, himself an initiate, and at one time a member of the Illuminati, wrote of *The Magic Flute*: "The majority of spectators will enjoy it; the initiated will understand its higher meaning." [19]

So many facts are hidden in obscurity that it is difficult for us to understand the opera's "higher meaning" fully. But an examination of the *Magic Flute* in the light of knowledge of Illuminated Freemasonry may help to enlighten us.

It is usually stated that inconsistencies in the story are due to a change of plan: that the original fairy-story was changed into a glorification of Freemasonry for some unknown reason. Jack Dunman has suggested (*Music & Life* No. 17) that there is no real inconsistency: his view is borne out by evidence that Mozart had for some time wanted to compose an opera about Freemasonry. Schikaneder's request for a German Singspiel on a magic theme, to be performed in a popular theatre on the outskirts of Vienna, might well present him with the opportunity.

The question of the authorship of the libretto is fully discussed by E. J. Dent. Whether Schikaneder, or as Dent believes, Giesecke, or in fact Mozart himself was mainly responsible for the masonic portions of the opera, the text centainly embodies many of the ideas of the Illuminati.

We may refer to a speech by Knigge to the highest grade of Illuminati, of which the basic theme is as follows:

Man can learn to order society by the study of Nature and of the history of the human race, which is a history of the development of the struggle to satisfy material needs. In primitive society men were free and equal; their needs were few and easily satisfied. As the human race increased in number, their needs increased and there was not enough to satisfy them. Property was established: men began to enslave each other and equality disappeared. This was the fall from Paradise. Classes and nations then arose, and despotism reduced men to the level of beasts; this gave rise to the struggle for freedom and to revolution. Only through moral training in secret schools of wisdom will man become enlightened and so achieve universal freedom and equality, and learn to dispense with tyrants and rulers.

The speech ends with the words:

> "Enlightenment means knowing what I am, what others are, what others can become . . . it means helping others, sharing their joys. . . . As diligent observers of Nature we follow her majestic course in wonder, rejoicing that we are members of the human race, and counting ourserves fortunate to be human beings and the children of God." [20]

That these ideas, and perhaps even these words were familiar to Mozart is indicated by passages in his masonic works. In *Die Maurerfreude* occur the words "See how Nature step by step herself reveals" and in the *Short Masonic Cantata,* "Sweet is the feeling that humanity again has come among mankind to dwell; sweet the remembrance of that former place where every brother's heart shows what he was, and what he is, and what he may become".

It is worth noting that the ideas of the Illuminati are expressed in Haydn's *Creation,* in musical phraseology often similar to Mozart's masonic works. The author of the text, Baron van Swieten, was a member of the Illuminati.

Interpreting the Allegory

The earliest interpretation of the allegory of *The Magic Flute,* published in 1794, described it as "the age-old struggle between light and darkness, good and evil, enlightenment and superstition." [21]

The Queen of Night is said to represent Superstition; Pamina is Enlightenment, child of the Queen and Patriarchal Religion; Sarastro stands for Reason; Monostatos the Human Passions; Tamino is Spirituality not yet perfected, Papageno is Folly; the Genii the Powers of the Mind; the Flute the Single Voice of Nature; the Bells Flattery; the Sevenfold Shield of the Sun True Knowledge.

It seems probable that the allegory was intentionally obscure, and contemporary writers could

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hardly be very specific. Later writers identified Sarastro with Born, the Queen of Night with Maria Theresa (who in 1743 led a raid on a masonic temple), and Monostatos with the Jesuit orders, and perhaps with the treacherous Hoffman.

If we accept the identification of Pamina with Enlightenment, the struggle for her custody may be explained in the light of a statement by Knigge:

> "The despots, fearing revolution, encouraged enlightenment for their own ends. It was to stop such abuses of enlightenment and to prevent a relapse into the former state of oppression that the secret schools of wisdom were developed." [22]

The Queen's grief over her daughter's loss reflects a narrow, selfish love, as compared with Sarastro's wide love of humanity. "Once it became permissible or was even considered a virtue to consider the inhabitants of other countries as inferior and to injure them, the next step was to restrict one's love of fellow-men still further to the inhabitants of a particular town, or to members of one's family, or even to oneself. So patriotism developed into parochialism, family pride, and finally egotism." [23]

If the Queen represents family pride, Monostatos, as his name suggests ("Standing alone") must represent the selfish egotist.[24]

Tamino is the symbol of man striving to perfect himself and to achieve wisdom by his courage, endurance, and love of fellow-men. "Will he be able to endure the trials? Remember, he is of royal blood," asks the priest, to which Sarastro replies: "He is more: he is a man."

Love for humanity is the theme of *The Magic Flute,* embracing both the general love of one's fellow-men and the particular love of one human being for another. The power of love is expressed in the duet sung by Pamina and Papageno:

> "They that know the joys of love
> Rise to join the gods above." (*a*)

Love enables Tamino to overcome his ordeals, with Pamina's help.

Papageno represents the ordinary man, uneducated, but lovable and intensely human. He may represent man in the primitive stage of society: he calls himself a "child of Nature". He is one of the "slaves, men who did not work for themselves but only for others, entirely subordinate to the will of their conquerors" (Knigge).[25]

> "I catch birds for the Queen of Night and her ladies, they give me food and drink in exchange."

Papageno's needs are those of man in primitive society: food, drink, a wife. Yet he too can learn through love and friendship, and through music he can begin to perceive the higher things of life.

> "Make them laugh and make them sing,
> Friendship follows after,
> So to every man we bring
> Music, friendship, laughter." (*b*)

Papageno stands also for the laughter and gaiety without which life would be unbearable. We recognise his voice in much of Mozart's instrumental music: he sings in the accents of the people, with the melodies of German folk song. Indeed he may be said to represent the peasantry, as seen through the eyes of the bourgeoisie: a necessary companion in the struggle, but unable to reach the "goal of wisdom".

Enlightenment

The function of music as an ennobling force is frequently expressed in the writings of the Encyclopedists: as we have seen, this is an idea supported by the Freemasons. Throughout *The Magic Flute* there are allusions to the power of music:

> "O, 'tis only music that has the power to weave that spell,
> Jarring souls so to attune that all in harmony may dwell." (*c*)

Tamino charms wild beasts with his flute:

> "O voice of magic melody, O strain enthralling,
> Serener thoughts thou wak'st in me,
> My soul to loftier purpose calling." (*d*)

The magic bells enchant Monostatos and his slaves; they save Papageno from suicide and bring him Papagena. Above all, it is the Magic Flute that guides Tamino and Pamina through fire and water:

> "We live in this world to learn zealously and by interchanging our ideas to enlighten one another and thus endeavour to promote science and art"

wrote Mozart as a young man.[26]

Through music, he hoped to change men's hearts, to win them to an understanding of the ideas of the Enlightenment.

> "When Virtue and Righteousness inspire the great with counsel wise
> Then doth the heavenly reign commence, and earth will be a paradise." (*e*)

> "Truth, wisdom, and the good of humanity were the objects of the Egyptian mysteries . . . truth, wisdom, and the opening of a new era of happiness for all humanity . . . are they not the

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> objects of our institution? . . . can we have a higher object, or a more noble one, than to extend our knowledge by mutual instruction, and to show all those who join our ranks the way to virtue and the path of wisdom?" [27]

These words, from an article by Born in the journal of the lodge True Harmony, are echoed by Sarastro:

> "O hear us, Isis and Osiris,
> For these that seek your light we pray,
> In all their perils grant them patience,
> And lead them safe in wisdom's way." (*f*)

and again by the Genii:

> "Thus foolish fear gives place to wonder
> When Reason lights the way.
> O blessed peace, upon us shower
> Thy balm divine, thy holy power;
> Let these but in our hearts arise,
> Then were this earth a paradise." (*g*)

To the contemporaries of the French Revolution, it might seem that the Age of Reason had indeed been established. Klopstock expressed it thus: "The sun which has risen over the ruins of the Bastille has dispersed the clouds of folly and superstition, and made it possible to return to the Age of Saturn."[28]

These words, though more explicit, are almost identical with those of Sarastro:

> "The sun's golden radiance drives dark night away,
> The Kingdom of error to truth yields the day." (*h*)

Mozart's letters contain no references to the French Revolution. From this many critics have inferred that he was not interested in politics. But in 1829, when Vincent and Mary Novello visited Mozart's widow in Salzburg, they asked which were his favourite authors, to which she replied:

> "One of his favourite authors is at present in her possession, and which she most frequently peruses. It is in 9 volumes, but being a forbidden fruit in the Austrian states she did not name it—I suspect some of the French revolutionary works."[29]

It is also significant that Mozart's contemporary Naumann called him "a musical sans-culotte".

Engels has shown that the Encyclopedists, who claimed to speak for the whole of humanity, in fact expressed the viewpoint of the bourgeois class. The same is true of the Illuminated Freemasons, who represented the most advanced section of society at their time. Mozart expressed the highest aspirations of that society, but his music transcends its limits. The message of *The Magic Flute* is the same, though veiled in allegory, as that of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. For the peoples of the world today, no less than for Mozart's contemporaries, it is a message of hope for mankind, still struggling against "the powers of darkness". It is a message of hope, and confidence that man will eventually achieve a society in which

"All men shall be brothers".

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[15] Deutsch: *Mozart und die Wiener Logen*, p. 10.
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[17] Ibid, p. 63 (n).
[18] *Musicians' Journal*, 1932, Article by Antiquary.
[19] *Goethe und die Freimaurerei*, p. 97.
[20] Engel: *Geschichte des Illuminaten Ordens*.
[21] Bradley: *Bro. Mozart and his Masonic Friends*, p. 14.
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[24] Bornhausen: *Mozart's Zauberflöte*, p. 20.
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[26] Mozart: *Letters* (ed. Anderson), p. 386.
[27] Bradley: *Bro. Mozart and his Masonic Friends*, p. 13.
[28] Le Forestier: *Les Illuminés de Bavière*, p. 633.
[29] Medici and Hughes: *A Mozart Pilgrimage*, p. 95.
[30] Dent: *Mozart's Operas* (2nd ed.), p. 259.

QUOTATIONS FROM THE MAGIC FLUTE

(*a*) Act I, No. 7, Tr. E. J. Dent, p. 57.
(*b*) Ibid, No. 8, Ibid, p. 79.
(*c*) Ibid, No. 5, Ibid, p. 41.
(*d*) Ibid, No. 8, Ibid, p. 72.
(*e*) Ibid, No. 8, Tr. Natalia Macfarren (Novello), p. 79.
(*f*) Act II, No. 10, Tr. E. J. Dent, p. 96.
(*g*) Act II, No. 21, Tr. E. J. Dent, p. 146.
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Songs of the British Radical and Labour Movement

John Miller

"The most unfailing herald, companion, and follower of the awakening of a great people, to work a beneficial change in opinion or institution, is poetry"—Shelley.

THE art of singing must be as old as language, and singers have always sung about the lives and loves, struggles and aspirations of their peoples. Since the division of society into classes, oppressed classes have always used song as a medium for expressing their discontent about their lives. Though this type of song—the song of protest—is but a small part of the total song treasury of the common people, it is nevertheless a very important part, serving to inspire the people to heroic deeds in times of struggle and revolution. The *Marseillaise* will always be associated with the French Revolution of 1789, the *Internationale* (though written after it), with the Paris Commune of 1871, the *Partisans* and other songs with the October 1917 revolution and the wars of intervention.

Our country, with its great tradition of struggle for freedom, has a fine inheritance of these songs, songs of the legendary Robin Hood, the *Cutty Wren*, of the 1381 Peasants' Revolt, the songs of the Diggers and Levellers of the English Revolution. Every struggle for a better life, down to the present day, has produced its songs, which often convey the reality and immediacy of those struggles much more vividly than a straightforward historical account. They also reflect the limitations of the understanding of their time—in the Robin Hood songs, the people's hopes are centred around a purely legendary hero, in the *Cutty Wren* they are expressed in terms of a magic bird.

As the struggle for a just form of society grew fiercer, as men began to understand the philosophical and economic basis of such a society, so the realism of their songs of protest grew. The fantasies and magic of the peasant songs is replaced by the realism and the call to action of the industrial workers' songs, of the class destined to bring the just society—socialism—to birth.

From its beginning, the British Labour movement has produced its own songs, sometimes confined to a particular struggle, sometimes painting a broad vision of the future, sometimes created by anonymous workers and sometimes by trained poets and composers. (See A. L. Lloyd *The Folk Song Revival, Marxism Today*, June, 1961.) Each generation has expressed its hopes for a better world in an idiom familiar to it, taking its poetic and musical styles from those of the popular forms of the day, be it national airs, operatic melodies, folk songs or hymns.

In an article of this length, it is impossible to give examples from all periods, so it is proposed to deal only with four important movements: the early Radicals, the Chartists, the Agricultural Trade Unions of the 1870's, and the early Socialist movement 1880 to 1900.

Songs of the Radicals

It was towards the end of the 18th century that the first predecessors of the Labour movement appeared, when the seemingly eternal society of 18th-century Britain was being shattered by the young Industrial Revolution at home, and by the effects of the Revolution of 1789 in France. These mighty events led to the formation of the Radical movement among the middle class and the artisans. Although the Radicals' aims were limited, the ruling class, terrified by the Revolution of 1789 and the events of 1792, imagined that the Reformers were intent on revolution on the French model here and styled them Jacobins, a term conveying the same sort of opprobrium as "Reds" today. Their fears and hate were summed up in Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution*, which received a noble answer in Tom Paine's *Rights of Man*. This book, which had an unexpectedly vast sale, inspired the Radical movement to new heights, and the early 1790's saw the formation of many new societies pledged to Parliamentary Reform and recognition of the *Rights of Man*.

In London the two most important were the Society for Constitutional Information led by John Cartwright and John Horne Tooke, and the London Corresponding Society led by Thomas Hardy. The former was a middle-class body of

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Radical politicians and Dissenters, with an annual subscription of one guinea and conducting its business at dinners, whilst the latter was composed of skilled artisans and tradesmen who held their meetings in taverns and coffee houses and paid a few pennies a week. These two societies worked closely together for their common aims. The London Corresponding Society can, therefore, be claimed as the first political working-class organisation in this country, although it had no contact with the lowest paid and unskilled workers, who were often hostile to reform.

Singing seems to have been an integral part of their meetings, as shown in the headings to some of the printed songs: *Songs Sung at the Anniversary of the Revolution of* 1688, *held at the London Tavern, November 5th,* 1792; *The Associators* sung by Sinecure Reeves at the Crown & Anchor; *Songs sung at the Crown & Anchor,* May 18th, 1797;[1] *The Berry Bush* written by J. Field and sung on Monday, July 8th, 1793, at the Crown & Anchor Tavern, Strand, at the first general meeting of the London Corresponding Society. The songs were either printed as single broadsheets, giving the printer's name, such as "Sold wholesale and retail by Citizen T. G. Ballard, No. 3 Bedford Court, Covent Garden—where may be had variety of Patriotic Publications", or "Printed for T. Spence, No. 8 Little Turnstile, Holborn, Patriotic Bookseller and publisher of *Pigs Meat*", or else in book form, collected from these broadsheets. A typical book printed in 1793, called *A Tribute to Liberty or New Collections of Patriotic Songs . . . sacred to the Rights of Man,* contains many songs on Tom Paine and his book, commencing with a parody of *God Save the King*:

> "God save"—THE RIGHTS OF MAN!
> Give him a heart to scan
> Blessings so dear!
> Let them be spread around,
> Wherever Man is found,
> And with the welcome sound
> Ravish his ear!

All the songs used well-known tunes, some still known today, such as *Rule Britannia, Hearts of Oak, Vicar of Bray, Lass of Richmond Hill,* a few genuine folk-tunes such as *Derrydown* and *Chevy Chase,* and many taken from the popular "English" operas of the day, or from popular hits sung in the London Pleasure Gardens of Vauxhall and Ranelagh, by such composers as Charles Dibdin.

[1] From *Mass Poetry in England at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries,* by A. N. Nikolyukin (Publishing House of Academy of Sciences, Moscow, 1961).

In addition to songs on The Rights of Man, Freedom and Republicanism, and praising the French Revolution, there were many against the war with France and the unjust taxation levied to fight it, the sinecures and pensions, the spies and informers. These were usually written in satirical terms such as *Burke's Address to the Swinish Multitude*:

> Ye vile Swinish herd, in the sty of taxation,
> What would you be after—disturbing the nation,
> Give over your grunting—be off—to your sty!
> Nor dare to look out, if a king passes by:
> Get ye down! down! down! Keep ye down.
>
> Now the church and the state to keep each other warm
> Are married together. And where is the harm?
> How healthy and wealthy are husband and wife!
> But swine are excluded the conjugal life. . . .

Workers' Folk Songs

The various repressive Acts of Pitt's Government and the impossibility of achieving their aims in the war atmosphere of the time led to the collapse of the Radical societies, and the Reform agitation did not revive until after the end of the Napoleonic War.

The general impression given by these early Radical songs is that they are the productions of educated men or men trying to write in a literary style, an impression also given by many Chartist songs and those of the Socialist movement of the late 19th century, perhaps because the surviving examples were written by men living in London, Birmingham and other big towns. But towards the end of the Napoleonic Wars examples of a different type of song appear, called by A. L. Lloyd *Workers' Folk Songs,* made up by anonymous workers about struggles in their own trades and localities, far from the towns, very often driving home the importance of Trade Unions for protection from the brutal rapacious employers. There are such songs from the woollen and mining areas (two of our oldest industries, antedating the Industrial Revolution by many centuries) and no doubt many awaiting discovery from other industries. Such is the Luddite song *The Cropper Lads* from Yorkshire:

> Some cropper lads of great renown,
> Who love to drink good ale that's brown,
> And strike each haughty tyrant down,
> With hatchet, pike and gun!
>
> O, the cropper lads for me.
> And gallant lads they be.
> With lusty stroke the shear-frames broke,
> The cropper lads for me.
>
> What though the specials still advance,
> And soldiers nightly round us prance

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The cropper lads still lead the dance,
With hatchet, pike and gun!

And night by night when all is still
And the moon is hid behind the hill,
We forward march to do our will
With hatchet, pike and gun!

Great Enoch still shall lead the van
Stop him who dare! Stop him who can!
Press forward every gallant man
With hatchet, pike and gun!

"Great Enoch" was the hammer used for smashing, named after Enoch Taylor, a blacksmith who made the shearing frames.

A. L. Lloyd quotes many miners' trade union and strike songs in his famous book *Come all ye bold Miners,* such as *Blackley Miners* which dates from the great Northumberland and Durham strikes of the 1840's, when Cornish, Irish and Welsh labourers were imported as blacklegs:

Oh, every evening after dark
The blackleg miners creep to work,
With corduroys and coaly shirt,
The dirty blackleg miners!

They take their picks and down they go
To dig the coal that lies below,
And there isn't a woman in this town now
Will look at a blackleg miner!

They'll take your tools and clothes as well
And throw them into the pit of hell.
It's down you go and fare you well,
You dirty blackleg miners!

So join the union while you may,
Don't wait until your dying day,
For that may not be far away,
You dirty blackleg miners!

From the first decade of the 19th century onwards there are examples of both types of songs being used in all the great struggles of the workers.

Songs of the Chartists

The Chartist movement produced a great body of literature, poems and songs, which is largely unknown to the movement today. A rich selection has been produced by the Soviet writer Y. V. Kovalev in *An Anthology of Chartist Literature.*[2] In the foreword, Kovalev states that:

> "Chartist Literature rests on the tradition of the democratic literature of the close of the 18th century, in particular the works of Godwin and Paine. In origin it was connected with the poetry of the great progressive romantics such as Byron and Shelley, the work of the best radical poets of the 30's and 40's, with popular workers' poetry and the Methodist hymns widely known among the people. . . . The study of Chartist Literature is . . . complicated by the fact that there are comparatively few names of professional poets, such as Ernest Jones, William Linton, Gerald Massey and some others. The kernel of this body of literature consists of the productions of worker poets who either sign their works with pseudonyms or initials or not at all. . . . A characteristic feature of Chartist poetry was its unusually topical quality, an ability to respond instantly to any events in English political and social life, whether an Act of Parliament or a sentence on Chartist leaders. The Chartist poets themselves saw poetry above all as a means to struggle. This determined to a considerable degree the content and genre of their poetry, which consisted in the main of songs and hymns intended for collective performance at Chartist meetings."

A new characteristic, completely lacking in the Radical songs, appears here—the use of the idiom of the Christian hymn, familiar to the workers through the great growth of Methodism in the early 19th century. There had been examples of these "hymns" before the Chartists, as in the following by Ebenezer Elliott, the "corn-law rhymer". This song still appears in songbooks and even hymn books to this day:

"GOD SAVE THE PEOPLE"

When wilt Thou save the people?
O God of Mercy, when?
Not kings and lords, but nations!
Not thrones and crowns, but men!
Flow'rs of Thy heart, O God, are they;
Let them not pass, like weeds, away—
Their heritage a sunless day;
God save the people!

Shall crime bring crime for ever,
Strength aiding still the strong?
Is it Thy will, O Father,
That man shall toil for wrong?
"No!" say Thy mountains, "No!" Thy skies;
Man's clouded sun shall brightly rise,
And songs ascend instead of sighs
God save the people!

With all its strength and bitterness, this still does not tell the people what to do and this was so with many of the Chartist hymns, no doubt because of the purpose for which they were written. For example in 1842 the Chartist Association in Leicester opened an adult Sunday-school to give its members general and political education. Members of the school wrote hymns for use at the meetings such as the following:

Britannia's sons, though slaves ye be,
God, your Creator, made you free;

[2] Published by the Foreign Languages Publishing House of the U.S.S.R., 1956. Foreword translated as No. 17 of *Our History,* Bulletin of the History Group of the Communist Party.

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He life and thought and being gave,
But never, never made a slave!

All men are equal in his sight,
The bond, the free, the black, the white:
He made them all—them freedom gave;
God made the man—Man made the slave!

This hymn (sung to the hymn tune *New Crucifixion*) which was a great favourite, is by John Bramwich, a stocking-weaver. Thomas Cooper, another Chartist poet says of him: "He had been a soldier, and had seen service in the West Indies and America. He died of sheer exhaustion, from hard labour and want, in the year 1846."

There were large numbers of these Chartist hymns, using popular hymn tunes, a tradition which has carried on in all sections of the British Labour movement until comparatively recently. The Chartist poets undoubtedly chose this idiom because of the familiarity and popularity of the Methodist, and especially the Primitive Methodist, hymns among the industrial working class. Even before the chapels were built the people met in their homes after work and sang hymns for hours.

Another strong influence on the work of the Chartist song-writers, especially in the first years of the movement, was that of the great romantic poets, particularly Byron and Shelley, and there were many imitations of such well-known poems as *Song to the men of England,* parts of the *Mask of Anarchy, Song for the Luddites* etc. Later on the poems describe particular events, such as the 1839 uprising in Newport, S. Wales, or the release of Feargus O'Connor from prison as in the *Lion of Freedom*:

The Lion of Freedom is come from his den;
We'll rally around him again and again;
We'll crown him with laurel, our champion to be:
O'Connor the patriot for sweet liberty.

This song was so well known that it later became used as the basis of a hymn the *Lion of Judah*—the reverse of the usual process.

As with the Radicals, the Chartist poets used satire as a weapon against the ruling class, and showed a lively interest in and understanding of democratic movements in other countries, particularly after the revolutions of 1848. Such is *Ireland in Chains* (1846, by Allen Davenport), sung to the tune of the *Marseillaise*:

Rise, Britons, rise! with indignation—
Hark! hark!! I hear the clanking chains,
That bind a brave and generous nation,
Where martial law and terror reign;
Her gallant sons demand assistance,
Can British hearts refuse the call?
Behold them struggling for existence,
Shall Ireland, or her tyrants fall?
See! See! the fiends of war
Have seized on Liberty;
Then rise, and as one man declare,
That Ireland shall be free!

The music used for these songs was taken mainly from well-known national airs and popular songs such as *Ye Mariners of England, Bay of Biscay, Auld Lang Syne* and the *One Horse Chay,* with a few folk songs. The famous song of Ernest Jones, *The Song of the Low,* is the first on record that had music written specially for it by a composer called John Lowry:

We plow and sow, we're so very very low,
That we delve in the dirty clay;
Till we bless the plain with the golden grain,
And the vale with the fragrant hay.
Our place we know, we're so very very low,
'Tis down at the landlord's feet:
We're not too low the grain to grow,
But too low the bread to eat.

Down, down we go, we're so very very low,
To the hell of the deep-sunk mines;
But we gather the proudest gems that glow,
When the crown of the despot shines;
And whene'er he lacks, upon our backs
Fresh loads he deigns to lay;
We're far too low to vote the tax,
But not too low to pay.

We're low, we're low—we're very very low—
And yet from our fingers glide
The silken flow and the robes that glow
Round the limbs of the sons of pride;
And what we get, and what we give,
We know, and we know our share;
We're not too low the cloth to weave,
But too low the cloth to wear.

We're low, we're low, we're very very low,
And yet when the trumpets ring,
The thrust of a poor man's arm will go
Through the heart of the proudest king.
We're low, we're low—mere rabble, we know—
We're only the rank and the file;
We're not too low to kill the foe,
But too low to share the spoil.

Ernest Jones was one of the greatest literary figures associated with the Chartist movement, and though he did not join the movement until 1846, he played an important part in the final phase, being arrested in June 1848 on a charge of sedition on account of speeches made in Clerkenwell Green and Banners' Fields, and sentenced to two years' hard labour. When released in 1850, he was soon touring the country again in advocacy of the Chartist cause, and publishing poems written during his imprisonment in a paper called *Notes to the People.*

Some of his songs were known and sung for

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many years after his death in 1869, appearing in songbooks of the 1880's onwards, until well on in this century. In addition to the *Song of the Low*, the best known are *Our Summons, Hymn for Lammas-Day* and *The Song of the Future.*

After the collapse of the last labourers' revolt in 1830 and the savage punishment of the Tolpuddle Martyrs, the farm workers of England, with few exceptions, sank into a state of apathy and torpor until the early 1870's, when after a number of attempts in various areas to form local unions, the farmworkers of Wellesbourne in Warwickshire, led by a local Primitive Methodist preacher, Joseph Arch, came out on strike in March 1872 for an increase in wages from 10s. and 12s. a week to 16s.

Songs of Farm Workers

At a meeting in Leamington on Good Friday, 1872, the decision was taken to form one society from the many village unions that had sprung up, and so the Warwickshire Agricultural Labourers' Union was born, with Arch as organising secretary. The strike went on for three months, but in the end it was successful and wages rose to 16s. a week. In the meantime trade unions were appearing in many other rural areas. The effect of the success of the Warwickshire Strike was startling, the Union was swamped with appeals for help from all over England, and at a National Conference which it called on May 29th, 1872, the National Agricultural Labourers' Union was formed, with Joseph Arch as chairman.

As with many of the Chartists the local leaders of this movement of the farm labourers were Primitive Methodists. The very establishment of the Methodist Chapels was a revolt against the squire and the parson, and in them the labourers learnt self-respect, learnt to read and write, to speak to and lead their fellows. Many of the early Union meetings were conducted on lines of chapel services, beginning with a prayer, sometimes without a chairman, men speaking as they felt impelled in an atmosphere of great enthusiasm. It is not surprising then, that this movement threw up a considerable number of songs—*Union* songs—which were sung with great enthusiasm on demonstrations and in meetings. Many of these songs were written by the local leaders and found their way into the Union songbooks. They are always down to earth, practical songs of no great literary merit, and using popular tunes such as *Auld Lang Syne, A Day's March Nearer Home, Stand like the Brave, The Red, White and Blue,* and *The Union Jack of Old England,* but the stirring effect on the farmworkers who sang them can be well imagined.

There was, for instance, the song that was sung at the formation of the Warwickshire Agricultural Labourers' Union:

> Then up, be doing, brave-hearted men,
> Stand shoulder to shoulder again and again,
> Then ask for your rights and you'll have them when
> Each man has joined the Union.
>
> We won't be idle, we won't stand still,
> We're willing to work, to plough and till;
> But if we don't get a rise we'll strike, we will,
> For all have joined the Union.

And here is another early song of the Warwickshire men:

> When Arch beneath the Wellesbourne tree
> His glorious work began,
> A thrill of hope and energy
> Through all the country ran;
> But farmer, parson, lord and squire
> Looked on with evil eyes,
> Some looked with scorn and some with ire
> And some in dumb surprise.
>
> CHORUS:
> The rich and great our cause may hate,
> We care not for their frown;
> The strongest are not strong enough
> To keep the labourer down.

Some of the songs dealt with particular aspects of the labourer's hard struggle throughout his life. When too old to work in the fields there was only one place for him—the "Union" workhouse (not, obviously, the *Trade* Union) as this song from Lincolnshire says:

> Who would ever have thought we'd been making
> The Union a subject of song,
> When our hearts with distress were nigh breaking,
> And there seemed no redress for our wrong?
> But the Union I mean is another,
> A Union of good men and true,
> That in time, shall abolish the other
> For the old must give place to the new.
>
> CHORUS:
> For the old must give place to the new,
> The Union of Labour for ever,
> The old must give place to the new.
>
> Once the name of the Union was hated—
> That Union that's worse than a jail;
> Where husband and wife are unmated,
> When age makes them feeble and frail.
> But, much as we hated and feared it,
> We had no better prospect in view,
> Till Arch wrote on his flag and upreared it,
> "The old shall give place to the new."

The Union had other objects as well as higher wages, such as better houses, free education, and

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abolition of the game laws. Housing conditions were appalling:

Pull down the wretched cottages
That breed all kinds of sin,
So fair and picturesque without
Yet fever dens within.

Build houses fit for Christians,
Sound roof and wall and floor,
We'll be content with nothing less,
We ask for nothing more.

Songs of the Socialist Movement 1880-1900

The replacement boom which followed the end of the Franco-Prussian war was soon followed by economic crisis in 1875 due to increasing competition from France, Germany and the USA. Further crises followed in 1880 and 1884, the effects of which were particularly felt in London, so that it was there that the revival of the Socialist movement was centred. One of the earliest Socialist bodies was the Democratic Federation formed in 1881 by H. M. Hyndman, which changed its name to the Social-Democratic Federation in 1884. Hyndman's methods led to a split in the SDF in which William Morris, Belfort Bax, Eleanor Marx and others left and set up the Socialist League, which began publishing a journal *Commonweal* in 1885. From the time he joined the movement the great poet, printer and artist had produced songs and poems inspired by various incidents in the struggle, and was one of the most important influences on the large number of song-writers associated with the Socialist movement from the 1880's until the first decade of this century.

The first collection of Morris' songs and poems was *Chants for Socialists* published by the Socialist League in 1885. It contained poems such as *All for the Cause* where Morris foresees the great struggles ahead:

"Hear a word, a word in season, for the day is drawing nigh,
When the Cause shall call upon us, some to live and some to die!"
"He that dies shall not die lonely, many an one hath gone before;
He that lives shall bear no burden heavier than the life they bore."
"Hearken how they cry, O happy, happy ye that ye were born
In the sad slow night's departing, in the rising of the morn."

(Tune: *An English Air*)

And also *The March of the Workers* (tune: *John Brown*) which catches the spirit that inspired and won the great dock strike of 1889:

What is this, the sound and rumour? What is this that all men hear?
Like the wind in hollow valleys when the storm is drawing near,
Like the rolling on of ocean in the eventide of fear?
'Tis the people marching on.
Hark, the rolling of the thunder!
Lo, the sun! and lo thereunder
Riseth wrath and hope and wonder
And the host comes marching on.

One of the first songs that William Morris wrote was *A Death Song* written for the funeral of Alfred Linnell, who died from injuries received on *Bloody Sunday,* November 20th, 1887, in Trafalgar Square. It was set to music by Malcolm Lawson.

Other "educated" poets wrote songs for these songbooks, poets such as Edward Carpenter (author and composer of *England Arise*) and Francis Adams, and towards the end of the century, instead of using popular tunes or hymn tunes the words were specially set to music by composers such as Rutland Boughton, Edgar Bainton and Ethel Smyth, the first professional composers devoting their talents to the Labour movement. The songbooks also included songs from the past, e.g. those of Robert Burns, Shelley and the Chartists, and from other countries. Most of the Socialist songs of this time have tunes rather like hymns, and words which are rhetorical, and high principled but not very inspiring. But there were other songs.

Important labour events of the 1880's were the struggles of the unemployed and of the unskilled workers in which Socialists were able to take the lead. This movement reached greater heights in 1888 with the Match Girls' strike and the formation of the Gas Workers' Union, and culminated in the great dock strike of 1889, led by John Burns, Tom Mann and Ben Tillett. Here is a song which was sung during this strike to the tune *God Save Ireland*:

At the Docks there is a strike the Companies don't like,
A tanner an hour a working man to pay;
Like slaves they'd have them work far worse than any Turk
And make them sweat their lives out every day.

REFRAIN:
Strike, boys, for better wages,
Stand out until they give you better pay;
You work hard at the docks, stick out like fighting cocks,
Then the masters all to you they must give way.

Here's a health to Mr. Burns, he's done us all a turn,
Mr. Tillett, Mr. Mann and Mr. Toomey too,

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Don't give in for a bit, for you've got them in a fit,
You've put the dock Companies in a stew.

or this, sung by the Dockers' wives:

Our husbands are on strike, to the wives it is not honey,
And we all think it right not to pay the landlords' money,
Everyone's on strike, so landlords don't be offended,
The rent that's due we'll pay to you, when the strike is ended.

The dock strike was also the inspiration for Jim Connell's famous song the *Red Flag*, about which there was some interesting discussion in the *Daily Worker* earlier this year.

The Tradition Lives

These examples, a few only from our total heritage of workers' songs, serve to show that our Labour movement has always produced songs to inspire it in its noble struggle for a just society. Most of the songs quoted had their day and now lie forgotten in the records of Trade Unions or in tattered songbooks hidden in libraries. But the tradition is with us yet—the style may be different but the inspiration is the same:

THE H-BOMB'S THUNDER

Don't you hear the H-bomb's thunder
Echo like the crack of doom?
While they rend the skies asunder
Fall-out makes the earth a tomb.
Do you want your homes to tumble,
Rise in smoke towards the sky?
Will you let your cities crumble,
Will you see your children die?

CHORUS:
Men and women, stand together,
Do not heed the men of war.
Make your minds up now or never,
Ban the bomb for evermore.

Shall we lay the world in ruin?
Only you can make the choice.
Stop and think of what you're doing.
Join the march and raise your voice.
Time is short; we must be speedy.
We can see the hungry filled,
House the homeless, help the needy.
Shall we blast, or shall we build?

(*Tune*: *Miners' Lifeguard*
Words by John Brunner)

* * *

And so it will be until final victory.

Discussion contribution on:

Centre 42 and the 'Movement'

David Craig

A VALUABLE point made in Beryl Ruehl's contribution to the discussion on Centre 42 (*Marxism Today*, April) was that its work is many-sided, ranging from professional to amateur, drawing in intellectuals along with trade-unionists. Thus no one formula covers all that Centre 42 is doing. But there is one trend at the basis of it which it is vital to realise, for it links up Centre 42 with the new Movement in the arts and in radical protest generally.[1] This trend is: towards a breaking down of the barriers between formal culture and spontaneous social entertainments—between top culture and pop culture—between the various forms and traditions inside the arts.

[1] See Nina Hibbin on *A Taste of Honey*: *Marxism Today*, April 1962, 128.

To take an example raised by Comrade Ruehl's contribution: she says of the Friends of Centre 42 groups that their "purposes are fund-raising". This is not true of the Tees-side Friends of Centre 42. (i) We think of ourselves as an embryo *branch* —working towards the day when there could be several major centres in the provinces as well as the H.Q. in London. (ii) We have hopes that local authorities in the north-east may start supporting and subsidising *major schemes*, e.g. festivals on the lines of Wellingborough, Nottingham, etc.; and the building of blocks which would both provide office-space for unions and also contain a compact theatre. (iii) What we are mainly doing right now is accepting every invitation we can get to put on *one-night shows* in TU, British Legion, factory, technical-college, and other clubs around

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Tees-side—shows on ordinary club nights, at Labour Party socials, and this year (we hope) as part of the May Day celebrations.

The principle is this: even if you put on a thoroughly progressive and popular play (e.g. *Chicken Soup With Barley* or *The Hostage*) in a town theatre, you still attract only the usual habitués of the theatre—a rather special section of the professional class. You do not begin to reach the working people to whose own culture such plays, ideally, belong—whose idiom and experience they draw on. There is a barrier between theatre and ordinary social centre—whereas at one time the drama flourished in the church and the market-place. So we are going into the clubs.[2]

"New Movement"

Our programmes so far have been a mixture of what could be done with the talent available locally. And I think they offer quite a fruitful model of what can be done. A local jazz-band has played. Singers from the Stockton and Newcastle Folk Clubs (and from the West Riding) have sung a wealth of north-east, Scottish, American country-and-western, and older English country songs. A trained pianist (who recently did the music for a Middlesbrough production of Behan's *Hostage*) has played "classical" dance pieces by Purcell, Fauré, de Falla, as well as boogey. There have been readings from Wesker's *Roots*—four key excerpts, including Beatie and Mrs. Bryant's argument about pop songs and folk songs and Beatie's final tirade against commercial culture; it was noticeable on two occasions how well even the seemingly didactic and speechifying bits of the play could hold a club crowd. And poetry-speaking has done remarkably well—a pretty rough Friday-night British Legion crowd in Middlesbrough, who had come in the first place for a bingo session, listened hard to a Brecht poem ("The Litany of Breath") which dramatises the rise of Hitler in the form of a kind of fairy-tale with a refrain.

This last example shows how a dissolving of old cultural barriers is going on in the content of the new Movement as well as in its organisation. The Centre 42 show does not stop club members from having a good club evening. We perform in a bar, or a hall with a bar, and people come in and out from other parts of the club.

The affair is both cultural and simply sociable. And that Brecht poem is both a complete socialist analysis of the struggle and capitulation that led to Nazi rule and a ballad that attracts hearers by its rhythm, suspense, and refrain as much as by its content. All over his work Brecht does this—transforms a type of expression (fairy-tale, blues, lecture, agitator's speech, musical-comedy number) which wouldn't usually have been thought of as able to reach the imaginative depth and permanent literary quality of the "classic" tradition.

Our new writers, singers, producers, etc., are creating material galore that is perfect for such mixed use and thus for breaking down the old crusted barriers. Shelagh Delaney, John Arden, Brendan Behan, Willis Hall use folk songs (old and modern) for many a key effect in their plays; so does Arnold Wesker, in addition to dramatising song as a conscious issue in *Roots*. John Osborne uses the music-hall in the same way in *The Entertainer*. Our novelists, above all Sillitoe in *Saturday Night, The Loneliness of the Long-distance Runner,* and *The Good Women,* and Brendan Behan in his semi-novel *Borstal Boy,* have reconnected themselves with the *oral tradition*. They write in a style that flows straight out of speech, instead of modelling itself on printed matter. This is the tradition of Burns, Mark Twain, Lewis Grassic Gibbon, and in many ways of Dickens, so often at his best in vernacular passages (the Artful Dodger, Magwitch and Trabb's Boy, Toodle in *Dombey and Son*) and when drawing on the music-hall, circus and street entertainments of his day.

Ending the Gulfs

Every medium is being revolutionised by this wonderful cross-fertilising movement. The radio-ballad of Charles Parker, Ewan MacColl, and Peggy Seeger—perhaps the one major new art-form to emerge since the War—is both documentary and imaginative. It cross-cuts from recorded actual speech to songs that take up phrases and themes from the speech of the fishermen, dumper-drivers, miners. It uses both traditional anonymous songs (living on in the mouths of Buchan fish-wives and Durham miners) and new ones specially written by individual specialists. It depends as much on the technical expertise of Parker—master of a new electronic machine, the tape-recorder—as on the lyrical talents of MacColl and Peggy Seeger and the fresh quick-witted speech of ordinary people on the job.

Centre 42 itself, as designed by Sean Kenny, aims at being both social centre and arts centre—theatre cum cinema cum dance-hall, night-club

[2] The Party's Cultural Committee Bulletin No. 2 (March 1963), under the heading "The Labour Movement's Cultural Activity", mentions festivals and the need to draw in "flourishing local organisations", e.g. rep, drama, bands, choirs, orchestras. I think it is at least as necessary to take part all the year round in the equally flourishing local activity of the pubs and clubs.

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cum art gallery. Our finest progressive producer, Joan Littlewood, sums up (and perhaps slightly caricatures) this new union of the sociable and the artistic in her recent interview in the *Observer* (March 31, 1963): "I'm not interested in working so that some impresario can graft it on to the West End and then pluck the heart out of it . . . I don't really want a theatre; I'd rather have a marvellous fun palace like Vauxhall Gardens, where you could go off with your girl in the dark and come back and see a real entertainment."

Surely this Movement bids fair to end—or show the way towards the distant goal of ending—those gulfs between levels of culture which have become so intolerable, so distorting in our time. The barriers are in our semi-conscious attitudes as well as in the social system. To mention only a few of the hair-raising prejudices and embarrassments that we have to cope with: Middle-class folk are sceptical or reluctant because they think we are only "cramming culture down the throats of unwilling workers"—as though factory-workers were the only culturally undernourished section! Workers in the clubs stay through in the other bar playing dominoes and say, if challenged, that this culture business is only showing-off by "these big-head C.N.D. types"—as though the songs and plays hadn't come from people like themselves, as though "culture" was nothing but educational stodge or a game for pansies, with no wholehearted enjoyment in it at all! Club secretaries, even our own Committee members, are nervous about the poetry-speaking items—as though poetry was too cissy and rarefied to stand a chance with real he-men. But there are bound to be such difficulties—they are part of the reason why a deliberate cultural campaign has become necessary in the first place.

Roots

A much more deep-rooted obstacle may be the very nature of our society. William Morris warns us, in *How I Became a Socialist* (1894), against merely "wasting time and energy in any of the numerous schemes by which the quasi-artistic of the middle classes hope to make art grow when it has no longer any root".[3] How aware is Centre 42 of this danger, of the extent of its task, and of the likelihood that only political revolution will bring about the conditions in which the cultural revolution could be completed? Arnold Kettle has drawn attention to the over-simplification or playing-down of politics in Wesker's own play of class-rebellion, *Chips with Everything*.[4] And the exhibitions of work at the Centre 42 Trades Council Festivals have been criticised for loading their material rather nostalgically towards "craftsmanship" with too little emphasis on either the labour movement or the kinds of factory work more typical today.

It also seems to be difficult even for a socialist society to keep up the kind of super-flexible and integrated culture that I have been sketching. In *The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism* (1920) Bertrand Russell described the highly impressive kind of large-scale pageant cum demonstration that was put on in Soviet towns shortly after the Revolution. The rout of the Tsarist forces, and of capitalism in general, was enacted on an outdoor stage by thousands of people, marshalled with military precision. Such a show brought together both the content of the Revolution and Civil War and the very kind of disciplined collective movement—physical movement—that people were being trained in at that time of armed struggle. Drill became theatre. In 1934 Gorky in his speech to the first Congress of the Writers' Union specially mentioned the histories of factories that were being written collectively by trade-unionists and hoped that this would be one of many such proletarian kinds of work.

No doubt work that is so close to the grass-roots of spontaneous culture and social behaviour will always be only one part of our whole artistic tradition. Yet it is an indispensable part—indispensable for the refreshment of the arts and to keep our social life full, many-sided, active, and free of mechanical conditioning from above. I believe that the present Movement is the cultural arm of the socialist movement as a whole. To define the fundamental trend underlying it, we need nothing less than an idea from the *Communist Manifesto*[5] (slightly reworded to apply to culture instead of politics): "a stage has been reached where the exploited and debased culture cannot attain its emancipation from the sway of the exploiting and ruling taste—the bourgeois—without, at the same time, emancipating culture at large from all exploitation, debasement, false distinctions and cultural rivalries."

[3] Morris, *Prose and Verse*, ed. G. D. H. Cole (1948), 658-9.

[4] "Our Theatre in the Sixties": *Marxism Today*, Sept. 1962, 281, and March 1963, 96.

[5] See Engels' Preface to the English edition of 1888.

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Abstract Art

Jack Lindsay

THE discussion on Abstract Art has been excellently launched by Ray Watkinson and Barbara Niven, who have raised a number of relevant points. I should like to add a few comments in the hope of further clarifying the problem. First, while it is important to point out that all art-expressions embody elements that can be abstracted as the structural factors, I think we need to distinguish these factors from abstract art proper. The organising elements are abstractable, but are not abstract; in a complex work of art they are at every point inseparable from the total effect, meaning, and definition. An abstraction that is embodied or made concrete is a contradiction in terms.

We need then to keep the term *abstract* for art forms in which the artist is not attempting a maximum combination of the elements of expression, a full concretion of experience, but is seeking to take the elements apart and to concentrate on one or more of them to the exclusion of any attempt at complete integration.

But here again we can meet a large number of differences in degree, in aim and effect; and Watkinson valuably points this out:—

> "Abstraction began to develop in three main directions. One, still contenting itself with some real object as a point of departure, would *abstract* from its known forms the basic geometry of cube and cylinder; a second saw this as a compromise, and insisted that the artist must bring into being every form he used—a pure geometry of shapes without reference to any seen object; a third resisted the foreordained and timeless limitations of square and circle, and sought to build paintings from shapes free not only from likeness to natural but geometrical figures also. And parallel moves took place in the use of colour. . . ."

Use of the Term

I think we should keep the term *abstract art* for these modern developments; and this means that we must not use it to define, say, Byzantine art where an extreme stress is put on certain decorative and monumental aspects, but the reference to real things is perfectly clear, or African tribal art, where the masks often show extreme distortion and simplification, yet remain manifestly linked to the human face and its structure.

We might perhaps apply it to, say, many aspects of the art of the Australian Aborigines, where the decorative forms have no plain connection with real objects, though, within the tribal tradition, they have definite meanings. We cannot, however, identify modern abstract art and tribal abstract art because of this way in which the latter has a familiar social reference; the forms consist of a generally accepted sort of imagic shorthand, and thus carry out a social function which differentiates them from the forms of the modern abstractionmonger, who is a declared individualist, deriving his art solely from his personal sensibility (even if he may believe that he is thereby tapping archetypal sources). Probably we should always prefix the adjective *tribal* to the term *abstract art* when dealing with socially-based systems.

Neolithic

The only period in which the art-abstraction seems to have any direct analogy with the modern forms is that of the Neolithic groups who had lost the broad rhythmic realism of the Palaeolithic hunters and often were obsessed with linear geometrical constructions. Apparently here we encounter the break-up of concrete form into abstractions under the impact of tremendous technological changes. The advent of agriculture with its new tools and techniques represented a revolutionary change after the vast period during which men had gone on devising tools in wood, stone and bone for a way of life that remained essentially that of hunter and foodgatherer. Nothing comparable occurred again till the Industrial Revolution.

But the problem is not at all simple. We recognise a dual tradition among the Neolithics. On the one hand are abstract forms or symbols, which can be traced back to such forms as the occasional emblems, say, at Lascaux at the height of Palaeolithic realism. On the other hand is a tradition of realism maintained in connection with the Mother-cult. (In the Palaeolithic period, the animal cave-paintings and the mother-figurines seem to belong to different cults or magical activities.) Recent excavations have tended to stress the importance of the figurines in early Neolithic communities of Asia Minor, *e.g.*, at Hacilar. Further, we must not forget that the figurines from Palaeolithic days, though essentially realistic in feeling, were often constructed on complex or simplifying systems of geometric balances.

Still, as far as the evidence at present available

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goes, it does seem that the great technological leap of the first farmers gave a severe jolt to the art-faculty, and that the profound change in the attitude to tools, to work, to the earth, had a strongly abstracting tendency. If so, there is a definite analogy with the situation in our world where the full forces of mechanisation have invaded all area of living.

Abstraction and Mechanisation

In any event, there can be no doubt about the linkage of the modern abstraction and mechanisation. Does that mean we can and must accept it as a necessary expression of the age? I should answer yes and no; and to explain what I mean by this ambiguity I should like here to sketch a thesis that I have set out at some length in a book *The Death of the Hero* (1961). I tried to show that modern art essentially began under the French Revolution, through the work of David, Gros, Géricault and early Delacroix. (Hogarth, Turner, Constable, Goya also play important roles; but the crucial concentrations and workings-out occurred in France as a result of the great social and political upheaval with its transfer of power to the bourgeoisie.) The artists I have cited attempted large scale integrations in terms of what they felt as the emerging new world of freedom and brotherhood. They broke decisively from the past, while putting all their energies into finding new ways of integrated art on the grand scale.

The first crisis or check came in 1830, expressed by the fate of Delacroix' *Liberty on the Barricades*. Here was the last great political painting in which an artist put the whole of himself. Delacroix then lost heart at the bourgeois triumph, and thereafter no such all-out effort was made. Instead, we meet a brilliant phase based on the gains of the period culminating in 1830, but made up of individual exploitations and consolidations. This phase includes Delacroix himself (after 1830), Manet, Daumier, Dégas, Courbet, Monet, Corot, Rodin, and many others. The line in it which most powerfully carries on the tradition of David and Géricault is that shown in Daumier (whose paintings however were totally unknown and so did not affect developments) and Courbet (who, though a powerful realist, was technically eclectic and made no attempt to link his art and his politics in the direct way that had come to a head in *Liberty on the Barricades*.).

The breaking-point came with Cézanne, in whom also the next phase emerged. He was deeply aware that the art-faculty, for all its fine individual achievements, was running rapidly down and becoming bogged in falsities. He wanted to revive a universally valid art with direct apprehension of the formative forces at work in nature; but this aim of integration was wholly aesthetic. He could not even think of the dynamic relation of art and life that was instinctive in David or Géricault; he was forced to tackle the problem of a true and uncontaminated art by concentrating on structural elements, on the point where aesthetic activity and natural forces or forms seemed to coincide. Hence the intense conflict between his "little sensation" which ensured integrity of vision, and his universalising aims; in his own way he personally resolved this conflict, but what he bequeathed was the stress on the functioning of the artistic vision abstracted from social or even human reality in any full sense.

After him then we get the increasing attention to the artistic faculty itself as the material of art; the faculty is abstracted and a vicious circle brought into being which leads to abstract art proper. Cubism was the point at which this one-sided inference from Cézanne's struggle was made and the gates opened to abstraction. It inherited his universalising aims, yet laid an incomparably greater stress on the artistic activity as a thing in itself. Its abstraction of his cones and cylinders (which he sought in nature as well as in his own head) was linked with a futurist sense of the violent planes of movement impacting from a mechanised world and modernist art, *Modernismus* in the full sense, was born.

Modernismus

We see then in this development from David to Picasso a steady abstraction and limitation of the art-faculty, with the final stage reached when art-activity itself becomes the theme or subject-matter of art-activity. This development reveals clearly the progress of what Marx called alienation—the unresolved cutting-apart of man from himself, his fellows, and nature; his increasing inner division. Marx linked alienation above all with division of labour, which has reached its climax in the fragmentation of labour in modern mechanised industry. Abstract art thus appears as a logical reflection of alienation in its most extreme form. It is the art of the imperialist epoch.

Can we then simply reject it as an accomplice of imperialism? In one sense, yes. We must never forget that *Modernismus* is the artistic reflection of alienation in the gigantic form it reaches in the imperialist epoch. Abstract art expresses a desire for the total elimination of man from the universe, the death of man at the heart of his own creation; and in this sense it is the art of the society that begot the atom bomb—though in the individual artist the desire for the elimination of

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man may take any of a host of subjective forms, ranging from a belief that he is uniting with a higher reality (ultimately the masked but ubiquitous imperialist State) or that he is taking refuge in the bosom of nature in a flight from a hopelessly polluted world (as for example with Mondrian).[1]

But the difficulty of maintaining the simple rejection comes up as soon as one turns from the philosophic generalisation and looks at the actual works produced. One cannot doubt that Cézanne was a great artist and that he represented far more than the first intrusion of imperialist pressures on the art-world. His art truly deepens our understanding of reality. It reveals a sensitive recognition of what was happening to life, and a wonderfully rich effort to heal the wound. (I do not mean that he thought in these terms; his idiom was purely aesthetic. But his art shows this relation to the historical process.) One might even say that his blind spots were necessary to enable him to muster up the courage for the struggle in which he pitilessly spent himself.

Our Attitude

How then can we simply condemn the art that springs from him?[2] Cubism, while opening the way to all abstractions and distortions, also did vital work in providing new perspectives into reality. And so on. All these expressions, while reflecting imperialist pressures of alienation, yet also reveal an important aspect of human reality —the body and spirit of man in their epoch. We cannot talk about the horrors of alienation and then turn blithely away to some mankind of the future, whom we have invented in order to escape the terrible problems of transforming reality. Abstract art or art with strong abstract tendencies, at least in the hands of its leading exponents, expresses something that has been happening to people, and is still happening, and is going to go on happening for a long time. If we close our eyes to it, we close our eyes to reality, to people.

We must realise that, in order to banish reality through the abstraction, the artist—unless he is a tame reflection of other artists—has first to conjure reality up. So, in effect, all the significant artists of abstract or abstracting tendencies, have contributed new glimpses of reality as well as expressing disintegration and alienation. The result in the working-out is a highly complicated phenomenon. But I think we may draw the following conclusions:

First, we may recognise the overall abstracting tendency after Cézanne as determined in the last resort by the extreme growth of alienation and as providing a passive reflection of the mechanising trends which are linked with labour-fragmentation. We then reject this tendency as anti-human and we want to see art moving in a different direction.

But we also recognise that this art in many of its aspects reveals a struggle against alienation, an effort to understand what is happening to men, an effort to use the situation in order to gain new apprehensions of reality. Even if, in the total picture of art under Imperialism, we consider the alienating pressures to have the last word, we cannot ignore the positive aspects.

For, if we do, we leave the contemporary artist with no starting-point. Art is not created (as vulgar Marxism thinks) out of some spontaneous combustion of an artist's social relations, in which "technique" is grudgingly added as a sort of abstract method, subservient to the social aim. Art is born from a personality in which social relations and art-tradition play central and fused roles. The artist cannot say: "I'll express this or that personal or social idea, and for the purpose I'll use some technique derived from Leonardo, or Rubens, or Courbet, or from my own pure study of the model." There is no pure study of the model, *etcetera,* in that sense.

However much the artist learns from past masters of his art, he is the man of his epoch, and he must be rooted there if he is to grow and flower. Some important part of his aesthetic personality must be born out of his epoch, as much as his social relations must be. If then we wipe out all that matters in the post-Cézanne development, we leave the artist only the deadest of dead academic tradition on which to develop. But if he is not to miscarry, he has no choice but to develop one way or another out of the contemporary soil, however much he may personally reject abstraction and may seek to find new ways of concrete integration. Otherwise he is trying to build a contemporary art without a contemporary sensibility.

For good or bad, Cézanne and Cubism are there, and unless he has taken them inside himself in some way or another, he has no basis for

[1] It is notable that Balzac in *Chef-doeuvre Inconnu* foresaw Abstraction as the result of the artist withdrawing subjectively into the quest for a super-reality. In losing actuality the artist produces a mass of unintelligible lines and blobs.

[2] What we may call the expressionist side, seen early in such a painter as Van Gogh, does not stem from Cézanne, but reveals a kindred recognition of the death of the image in bourgeois hands and a desperate effort to free it by frontal emotional attack. However the line through Cézanne into Cubism is the key one, with expressionism in its various forms sometimes providing a compensation for arid intellectualism, sometimes affecting the approach to the abstraction.

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organic growth. The problem is to be rooted in the modern world, but to struggle against the direction in which the alienating pressures seek to drive art. This inevitably means the linking of art with politics, with the struggle for peace, and so on. For no other force than that which is making for peace and socialism can stand up against the enormous imperialist pressures, and provide the artist with a chance of free choice outside the compulsions disguised as fashion. (This does not mean making his art into a sloganist weapon for the anti-imperialist forces; it means simply the rediscovery of a full humanity.)

Art under Socialism

Now, these points may perhaps be conceded for the artist in the class-world. But how can they be applied to the artist in a socialist society? True, they cannot be applied in quite the same way; for a socialist society by its very nature, must be throwing off alienation, whatever the delays or aberrations; and a class-society must, by its very nature, be deepening alienation, whatever the struggles against it waged by individuals or groups.

But, by Marx's definitions, a socialist society takes over the mechanism of alienation (division and fragmentation of labour, commodity-production, money, various inequalities, the State), though by ending exploitation it reverses the total direction. The movement from socialism to communism we may define as precisely the steady elimination of the alienating inheritance and its substitution by truly human forms of social and personal relationship—the creation of the whole or all-round man. Hence it follows that, despite the change in direction, there is yet a kinship between the artists of the two societies, insofar as they both struggle to understand and overcome alienation and mechanisation, and to stress all that truly liberates and humanises. The socialist artist cannot start from an imaginary point, a point of wishful thinking, any more than his colleagues struggling against alienation in an imperialist society. The positions, I repeat, are not identical, but they have many close affinities. The fallacy in Soviet art since the early 1930's has been that a consciousness of socialist relations plus academic techniques derived from a pre-Cézanne world equals Socialist Realism. But in fact such a position can beget only a non-contemporary (abstractly utopian) art desperately struggling to be contemporary by its overt themes. It operates from a point outside history, outside the mechanised world with all its complex forces of good and evil. However, the ferment among younger Soviet artists and writers shows a deeply-felt need to get back to reality in its fullness, to find the point of effective artistic action.

I must pause here to glance at the case which John Berger has ably put up for Léger as a communist artist. Léger was throughout aware of mechanisation. But his idea of it, taken over from Futurism and logically developed in an effort to express the new hopes for the world embodied in the working-class, remained one-sided; it left out the fact of the division and fragmentation of labour that lies at the heart of mechanisation and is inseparable in class-society from exploitation and class-division. A vision of mechanisation that excludes the aspects of alienation is utopian, not Marxist. This does not mean that Léger is not a very important artist; but, if we are to obtain a complete image of the socialist artist in our epoch, we must add Picasso with his pervasive sense of the distortions and strains of the alienating process.

The mention of Picasso brings me to my last point. What are called the distortions of modern art are linked with the abstracting trends, but we must recognise that they have very diverse functions and meanings in the hands of different artists, and register both the alienating processes and the struggle against it. In Picasso above all we see an artist deeply aware of the human condition of our world in all its aspects, deeply torn, and yet, by his intellectual perspective and his creative gusto, continually transforming abstraction into concrete expression. Artists like Henry Moore or Neizvestny cannot in any way be defined as succumbing to abstraction. Rather they reveal the panged and triumphant rebirth of humanity; we feel in their work the pledge of a new organic form, a new fullness of human response, a new kind of wholeness. If we fail to distinguish the abstraction proper from the art which is struggling in a world of terrible alienations to grasp once more the human body and spirit in their wholeness, we are indeed lost. We have surrendered every valid criterion, human and aesthetic, and we have reduced art to an absurdity, a game of rigged and meaningless pretences.

Published by the Communist Party, 16 King Street, London, W.C.2, and printed by Farleigh Press Ltd. (T.U. all depts.) Aldenham, Herts.

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